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HAD the two German submarine lieutenants, Dittmar and Boldt, not been convicted of firing on the men and women survivors of the British hospital ship Llandovery Castle, the French and the English would surely have been justified in declaring the trials of the German war-culprits at Leipzig a complete farce. It is undoubtedly to the credit of the German Government that it has of its own initiative put these miscreants on trial—the English had merely asked for the arraigning of the commander of the submarine. But the prosecuting authority in preparing for the trial of the commander for sinking the hospital ship discovered that his subordinates had fired on the defenseless survivors in their lifeboats in an effort, so the court declared, to wipe out all traces of their original crime, the destruction of the hospital ship in waters where, even according to the rulings of the German Admiralty itself, the ship could not be attacked. The sentence of four years in prison seems to us utterly inadequate, for these wretches dishonored Germany more than anyone else. Excesses and crimes take place on land in every war in every country, but it was men like these in the German service who first deliberately violated the laws of humanity on the seas and aroused to bitter anger the whole non-German world. For, up to that time from the earliest days of seagoing, it was the one great law of the sea to succor at any cost those in distress and in small boats, and only pirates disregarded that law. Multitudes of Germans have refused to believe that any of their sailors were guilty of such crimes. This Leipzig trial will perhaps serve its most useful purpose in enlightening that portion of the German public which has always insisted that these charges of the misconduct of some of their submarine crews were merely English lies. British propaganda did circulate many a baseless atrocity story, but the horrors of the submarine campaign were never exaggerated.

UGLY as is the withdrawal of Sir James Craig, Premier of Ulster, from the Irish peace conference in London, it has its useful side, for it brings out clearly once more that Ulster always is the stumbling block to Irish peace and unity. At her doors infinitely more than at those of South Ireland rests the responsibility for what has happened in that unfortunate country. Her defiant disloyalty in 1913 and 1914, her running in of German rifles in order to combat the Government at Westminster, was passed over because fashion and wealth and the Church of England stood with her. But now it is surely time for the Government to go ahead and to teach Sir James Craig that Ulster shall not be allowed to block the way to a lasting peace. His assertion that Sinn Fein by contesting some of the elections in Ulster for the new Parliament has thereby committed itself to a separate Ulster is a little too thin. But for Sinn Fein it is certainly a great gain to have Ulster so clearly in the wrong, while President De Valera is on the spot ready to negotiate and to lay his cards on the table. The skies are still bright and the hopes of millions of Irish and Americans are still high that a workable settlement can now be achieved.

PRESIDENT OBREGON continues to give evidence of good faith toward other nations. "Inspired," he says, "by a desire to act in accordance with the precepts of international law," he has invited all countries whose nationals have suffered damages as a result of Mexican revolutions to appoint delegates to meet Mexican delegates and to form a permanent commission for the adjustment of all claims. As a mixed commission this is even an improvement on President Carranza's Mexican Claims Commission established in 1917, before which, as a matter of fact, comparatively few American claims were brought. Thus the Mexican situation progresses in Mexico. President Obregon behaves always with generosity, fairness, and good statesmanship. The United States, on the other hand, blusters and brandishes the Big Stick under Mexico's nose. But Mexico may as well realize that virtue is its own only reward.

PRESIDENT HARDING has been guilty of nothing less than high treason in the very temple of Republican protectionism itself, the House of Representatives. He has pulled down a vital pillar, inadvertently, we presume, but none the less effectively. In his letter to Congressman Fordney, the President protests against the duty upon oil which was sneaked into the new tariff bill at one of the last secret sessions in which this precious bit of tariff rascality was concocted. "The oil industry," so the President writes, is "so important to our country and our future is so utterly dependent upon an abundance of petroleum that I think it vastly more important that we develop an abundance of re-

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sources rather than a temporary profit to a few producers who feel the pinch of Mexican competition." But what is any tariff for but to enrich a few individuals at the public expense, unless it is to injure somebody or other beyond the seas? Do not Mr. Harding's words apply exactly to the situation in the silk industry, where there is to be a high silk duty that some American merchants may profit? Are we not declaring war upon the Australian wool growers that our own may increase their profits by Government aid? And is not this exactly the same thing that lies behind the theft of the German chemical patents and the protection of their beneficiaries by a high-tariff wall against which 106 Congressmen voted, lacking only 17 of the necessary number to defeat it? We welcome President Harding to the ranks of free traders in oil, and we congratulate the country upon the damage he has done to the protection humbug.

OUR deepest sympathy goes out to Senator Wadsworth. When the Army bill reducing the service to 150,000 enlisted men was under discussion the Senator wept and wailed. To decrease the army to that figure, he solemnly averred, was one of the wickedest acts ever done by the Government in its inexcusable violation of thousands of contracts with the enlisted men. The Government gave its word that these men should have the great benefits of army life and now with utmost moral callousness would tear them loose from their happy barrack homes to enter the ranks of the unemployed. He declared, to use his exact words, that this treatment of the soldier was "without parallel in the history of the army, surpassing in cruelty anything ever proposed." Well, the bill went through and the War Department thought it would first let those who wished to get out of the army file their applications. What was the result? No less than 34,613 of Senator Wadsworth's embattled enlisted men applied, in the *first ten days* after the order went forth, to return to civil life! Thirteen thousand victims of the Government's unparalleled cruelty were actually discharged by July 10, turning their backs instanter upon that wonderful army education in the "nation's greatest college," as the advertising posters read. More than that, the troops on the border plainly have no desire to conquer Mexico for our oil kings, for of the 23,844 men in the Texas border posts no less than 11,984, or just 50 per cent, applied for discharge in ten days' time. As there will be 6,000 normal discharges in July, the number of Senator Wadsworth's "victims" is already reduced from 74,000 to 34,000.

STEADILY worse are Chairman Lasker's reports of his discoveries in the Shipping Board situation. The operating loss for the last year is $380,000,000 and not $99,500,000 as heretofore stated. As for the accounting system in use since the Board was organized, it is, according to Mr. Lasker, "vicious, bureaucratic, incompetent, inefficient, and put a premium on dishonesty which has been taken advantage of." Out of $409,416,734 disbursed for operating expenses in 1920-1921, no less than $307,034,428 is unaccounted for, it having been paid to operators who have in turn made no accounting for it. Figures as to only 3,000 of the 9,000 voyages have reached the Shipping Board. Any private concern would have gone into bankruptcy in a year had it had this accounting system. Plainly, Mr. Lasker is more than justified in declaring that the Shipping Board is the most colossal business wreck in history. Yet the new chairman declares that neither his predecessor, Admiral Benson, nor the chief accountant, Mr. Tweedale, is censurable. Then who is? It now appears that four billions or one-fifth of our total war bill has been squandered on our merchant fleet with only the idle ships not worth a quarter of that today to show for it. Yet, as usual, it appears that no one is to be held accountable or punished for what Mr. Lasker says is due in considerable part to fraud, extravagance, mismanagement, and lack of business responsibility.

PRESIDENT HARDING'S request that legislation for a soldiers' bonus be deferred, coupled with Secretary Mellon's strong stand against the proposition at any time, makes it likely that no action will be taken at the present session. Secretary Mellon estimates that the suggested bonus would cost the Government at least $3,330,000,000 and would seriously embarrass the contemplated refunding of the public debt. Obviously it would smash to bits the economy plans of the present Administration. The financial argument ought not to be decisive, however. The fundamental question is whether the bonus is just. If so, we ought in some way to try to grant it. There are many misconceptions in connection with the proposal. Over and over again one hears it said that we ought to deny nothing to those who "gave all." But who "gave all"? They are those who are no longer here to share in the bonus. Next to them, those who gave most are the men who came out of the service maimed or shattered in health. But according to the proposed bonus legislation they would receive no special payment on this account—merely their share with the others.

WHAT are the facts in regard to our service men? Most of them were in their early twenties; few had made much of a start in their life work or had attained a high earning capacity. In the army or navy they were fed, clothed, housed, and cared for in every material way by the Government, while amusements, reading, tobacco, and many other things were provided by private agencies. Besides all this every man received a minimum of $30 a month. This was virtually clear, over and above necessary expenses. Now how many of these young men had been accustomed in civil life to find themselves with $30 a month above necessary expenses? It may be urged that some had dependents, but such men were not conscripted; they enlisted voluntarily and ought not now to object to the conditions that they accepted. It is also true that there was a compulsory deduction for insurance, but this stands to their credit as a permanent investment, probably the best that most of them made. Another argument for the bonus is that those who stayed at home profited greatly. This is an exaggeration. Only a few were so fortunate. The great majority had to struggle harder than ever against a continually increasing cost of living.

TO welcome Lord Bryce back to the United States is a privilege, indeed, but it is truly like greeting a native son. Certainly no Englishman of his generation has seemed as thoroughly an American. Beyond question no foreigner has laid the United States under greater debt, and no man we know of can as justly lay claim to being a citizen of two worlds. Lord Bryce comes to find thoughtful America deep in his two new volumes on democracy and seeing in them a lasting contribution to the most difficult question of the age. *The Nation* has especial pride in welcoming him as its oldest, and perhaps most regular, contributor.

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HERE is another compliment to the Versailles Peace Conference:

> Its lack of method, its practice of approaching haphazard most complicated problems, and its errors in allowing the heads of governments to address themselves first hand to matters that ought to have been carefully threshed out in advance by expert subordinates, made it a byword among all who understand the importance of sound method and careful procedure.

No, gentle reader, this is not a quotation from *The Nation's* editorial The Madness of Versailles written the minute the treaty was published. Nor is it from the *New Republic*, or any other wicked liberal weekly. It is merely the latest expression of opinion of so dangerously radical a daily as the London *Times*. The poor Conference of Versailles! The same reactionary dailies which so ardently welcomed its treaty when that first appeared as commendable in every way, now themselves prove that the Conference is unwept and unhonored, if not unsung.

THE "review" of the Interchurch Steel Report with comments on its authors, which skulked into sight and out again some eight months ago, has at last come into the open and achieved a prompt and deserved notoriety. By misquotation, by false assertion, by slandering the supporters of the Interchurch Movement and its investigators (not sparing even so fine a character as the late Dr. Walter Rauschenbusch), by use of spies and black-legs, the steel companies have produced a booklet that must damage their name more than a dozen reports on the steel industry could. Last January the "review" was presented to the Senate Committee on Labor and education as a confidential report. The Interchurch World Movement Commission of Inquiry promptly submitted a reply denying the charges and citing instances of misstatement and misquotation in the "review." The authors of the document have not bothered to make corrections even when the original statements were flagrantly and obviously contrary to fact. One instance quoted by the New York *World* is worthy of citation. In the document as presented to the Senate Committee the *Christian Advocate* was quoted as saying: "If the multitude who listened possessed the Bishop's wild inability to discriminate between reviewing and reason, the case would be different," etc. What it actually said was: "If the multitude . . . possessed the Bishop's rare ability to discriminate between reviewing and reason, the case would be different," etc.—which conveys, to put it gently, a different impression. The New York *World* has painstakingly tried to discover the responsibility and reason for the publication at this late date of the scurrilous "review," but all the officials and underlings of the U. S. Steel Corporation and the other steel companies are dumb—or out of town.

HAVE we rejoiced too soon? Is the Post Office Department, after all its fair words and promising beginnings, to revert to the old Burlesonian attitude of nagging interference with the press? The New York *Volkszeitung*, a daily paper which has appeared for the last forty-three years and is undoubtedly one of the best Socialist papers in the United States, has had its application for the restoration of its second-class mailing privileges denied by Postmaster Morgan, acting, it is said, on orders of Postmaster General Hays who only recently restored those same privileges to the New York *Call*, the Milwaukee *Leader*, and the *Liberator*. By the quaint processes of official reasoning the Postmaster claims that the *Volkszeitung* "is not a newspaper or periodical"—despite its long record of continuous publication—in that it violates certain sections of the Postal Laws as "amended by section 480 of the Postal Laws and Regulations of July 15, 1917." This may mean nothing but that the Post Office Department cherishes a belief that the *Volkszeitung* is likely in the future to publish "indecent, frivolous, and immoral" material or to advocate "treason, insurrection, or resistance against the laws by force," for under the amendment cited above and the interpretation thereof by the Supreme Court of the United States no actual violation is necessary. If this is the case, and the Post Office Department has not deigned to be more specific in its charges, why has the *Volkszeitung* been chosen for particular reprobation? Is it because it is socialistic? Is it because the *Volkszeitung* calls its socialism communism? So, in emphatic terms, does the *Liberator*. Is it because the *Volkszeitung* has published stories by Maupassant and excerpts from Forel?

THE National Education Association has decided that it cannot cope with the huge problem of bettering the schools of the United States alone. It has therefore called to its assistance the American Legion. At the recent convention of the N. E. A. it was moved that a standing committee be appointed to act in cooperation with the Legion throughout the year, and that "the offer of the American Legion to give lectures in the schools be accepted." It was also resolved, at the instigation of the Legion, that "all teachers should be required to take an oath of allegiance to the Government of the United States and all teachers should be American citizens," and that "the suggestion of the American Legion of bringing teachers' salaries to a proper level be accepted," which will be joyful news to the teachers at any rate. Friends of the Legion doubtless will still protest that it is eschewing politics and will see nothing incongruous in its attempt to help determine educational policy or lecture to American school children. The country used to think that it had its trials with the Grand Army of the Republic and its insatiable appetite for pensions, but it at least never volunteered to take over the management of our schools nor would it have met with encouragement had it tried.

THE appointment of Percy MacKaye last year to a fellowship at Miami University is now followed by that of Robert Frost to one at the University of Michigan—the understanding being at both universities that the poets have no other duties than to live there and give themselves to their art. If others of our universities have done better by poetry than these we have not heard of it. To be interested in the classics is a primary function of a university; but surely it is little less important to make it clear to the young that the business of making classics goes on forever. Although we have had gifted writers among our university faculties before this, they have for the most part been kept chained to the routine of instruction, obliged to steal from their vacations to pay to their true callings. In these new appointments is shown a partial recognition of the fact that a university should be of all places the most hospitable to excellence, and should welcome creators as well as scholars to their communities. While Mr. MacKaye is hardly much more than a man of marked talent, Mr. Frost is a man of genius. As the world runs, that would be quite enough—to have such appointments go to genius half the time.

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The Disarmament Conference and Its Possibilities

WITH the English protests against the sending of Lloyd George and Lord Curzon to represent Great Britain at the Washington disarmament conference we heartily sympathize, not because, like the London *Times* and Lord Northcliffe, we wish to attack Mr. Lloyd George's personal character, but because we believe with our London namesake that the less the coming conference smacks of Versailles and its personalities the better it will be for the conference and the world. For that reason we trust that neither M. Briand nor M. Viviani nor M. Tardieu will come over to speak for France. And on our side we sincerely hope that there will be no Elihu Root and no James Brown Scott and no Nicholas Murray Butler as part of our delegation. If this conference is to be dominated by the Europeans who helped to plunge the world into its misery and have proceeded to make the situation worse ever since there will be little hope that the meeting can achieve anything thoroughgoing. As for the Root type of mind, with all respect for its profound learning and its mastery of international law, what the hour calls for is younger men—men who at least dimly realize that the world stands at the threshold of a new order and are yet young enough to count upon witnessing the results of their handiwork.

Above all we trust that there will be no generals and no admirals assigned or appointed to the conference by any member of it. It was the German admirals and generals, who, as Joseph H. Choate testified, wrecked the Second Hague Conference. The best of these men in all countries are partisans unable to free themselves from professional prejudices and usually wedded to the idea that nothing can be done to cure the human being of his propensity to fight. Indeed, it is from these and from certain other vested interests that we may expect to have the question asked with increasing frequency as to what practical result the conference can accomplish.

Well, there are many practical things that can be done even if the conference balks at the chief task before it—the abolition of all naval forces save a few ships manned not for fighting purposes but for the police and rescue work of the seas, and the abolition of all armies. Take the submarine. Even naval officers have been urging that this weapon be banned for all time; and as for battleships the rapidly enlarging doubt as to whether they have any value in view of the development of aircraft—doubts stimulated by the American experiments now going on—ought to make it easy for the nations invited to agree upon the barring of all further battleship construction. It is this type of craft that has run up the costs of navies so enormously, the latest types costing between 40 and 50 millions of dollars apiece; moreover, those that are building will be years behind the times in their technical construction the day they are launched.

The danger will be, of course, that the various nations will endeavor to manipulate affairs so that they may be left each of them in the strongest naval position. Hence the only way to reduce them all to absolute equality is to abolish all the navies. We admit that the question of aircraft is more difficult because of the fact that commercial airplanes can speedily be made into death-dealing instruments. None the less, control of this branch of the military and naval service is by no means impossible. During the war Lloyd George solemnly promised the British miners that as soon as the struggle was over he would limit the making of all arms and ammunition and the building of all warships to state-owned arsenals and dockyards. The present advantage of this is that it would make very easy the control of one nation by the other nations, that is, it would not be possible for a country to conceal from its rivals what it might be doing in the making of arms and ammunition if it must carry on those activities in government arsenals which could neither be increased in number nor enlarged in size without the fact becoming public property. In Germany today the Allies are relying upon the extreme radicals and the Socialists to keep them informed as to just what the German Government is really doing in the way of carrying out the decrees of the Treaty of Versailles concerning disarmament. Fortunately there are and there will be in the United States, as well as in other countries, similar pacifist and radical forces which will tend to render any underhand work by any government impossible of concealment.

Again there is the matter of poison gas and the new so-called chemical warfare which the Allies denounced as a crime against humanity when Germany used it, but which we and they since have embraced with joy. This is the easiest kind of warfare for a disarmed nation to prepare for in short order, for there are many factories that can be utilized for this foul purpose with but slight changes. No one who has read Mr. Will Irwin's "The Next War" can fail to realize that if this sort of warfare is not immediately stopped it will endanger not merely whole nations—men, women, and children—but civilization itself if war on a great scale should occur again.

As for the armies, there are a number of measures that suggest themselves, such as the forbidding of conscription and the limitation of standing armies to a fixed percentage per one hundred thousand of population. Doubtless here England will present the most difficult problem since she insists upon holding great nations like Egypt and India in forcible subjection. But any one can conjure up obstacles; the encouraging thing is that necessity is the whip that drives. If the European nations do not disarm they can hardly escape bankruptcy. Curiously enough, and happily, too, it is, according to the Washington correspondent of the New York *Globe*, the fortunate situation of disarmed Germany which is also compelling the Allies to act; they see that Germany, freed from her crushing military taxes, will be able to get ahead in her economic reconstruction far more rapidly than the Allies. Indeed, Senator Borah has brought out the astonishing fact, which ought to be printed in large type on the front page of every American newspaper, that if we go on with our present armament burdens the people of the United States will have to disburse exactly as much for them during the next thirty years as will the Germans if they pay the 33 billions of dollars imposed by the Allies! Exactly the same burden placed upon Germany as penalty for her share in the war is, in other words, to be voluntarily assumed by the American taxpayers as their tribute to Mars. Was there ever greater folly? Every sane American ought to make it clear to the President that thoroughgoing and radical disarmament on sea and land is what this country wishes and proposes to obtain from the conference.

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"Mittel-Amerika"

OUT of the welter of new national interests and international tendencies following the war and altered world conditions, one definite trend of far-reaching significance stands out in clear relief. It is the renewed American policy of aggressive imperialism toward the nations lying south of us, the determination to control politically and economically the destinies of nearly a dozen small but, until recent times, independent nations. Little has been written about this policy. For while there has been some talk of "our manifest destiny" in the Caribbean, the now time-honored principles of liberty under which our national life was inaugurated have until lately continued to hold good in our relations toward other and especially weaker countries. The case of Cuba twenty-three years ago appeared at the time as strong reaffirmation of these principles; as a virtually unique example of national disinterestedness and altruism. The facts of 1921, however, tell another story. Steadily, relentlessly, on one pretext or another, the United States in the two decades of this century has proceeded to dominate the countries to the south of us. This is the policy of "Mittel-Amerika" which, while unsung by any American Friedrich Naumann or other apologist of American imperialism, is nevertheless a militant, conscious program dictated by the great business forces that hold the leading-strings of our national destiny. Indeed, many interesting points of analogy exist between the plan of a great German-controlled wedge of territory ending at the Persian Gulf and leading to the ultimate domination of the rich markets and raw materials of Asia, and the American intention to control the great wedge ending at the Panama Canal, with its adjacent islands and territories. The American method has differed, however, as the Anglo-Saxon would naturally differ from the Teuton. Where the Teuton was frank, brutal, overbearing, glorying in a fancied superiority and right to rule, the American *pari passu* has moved quietly, self-justifyingly, quasi-benevolently, and always with a moral anchor to windward. The Teuton proclaimed his purpose to the world. Our relationships with the smaller countries down to the Panama Canal have not often been exhibited to the light of day. But when the searchlight has somehow been turned upon them the humanitarian motive has always been promptly advanced. Its *motif* is simple. It runs a pleasing variant of the following: Protection of American property, American lives, of the inhabitants from banditry, of the inhabitants from their corrupt politicians; unfitness to govern, chaos, need of "cleaning up," etc. The formula varies slightly here and there to make it more palatable to a possible awakening of public opinion, but the result is the same.

Suppose yourself a Latin-American—Mexican, Dominican, Argentinian—deeply steeped in traditions of political independence, and then consider the record. Overlook, as many South Americans do not, the steady acquisition of vast Hispanic territories previous to 1900—Florida, and the two Mexican cessions—for these matters are settled and could not possibly be undone. Since then, however, the United States has become master of a large section of the republic of Panama, and of the republics of Nicaragua, Haiti, and Santo Domingo. (Our proposed "withdrawal" from Santo Domingo is nothing more than the writing into permanency of our illegal military conquest.) To a lesser degree we are dominating all the other Central American republics. No president and no administration can hold office in them today unless "agreeable" to the authorities at Washington, which means nothing less than being agreeable to the American interests—banking, mining, agricultural—which control these particular countries. Now Mexico is slated for similar dependency.

The purpose of our American imperialists, of our devotees of Mittel-Amerika, of whom Senator Fall is the leading exponent in the present Administration, is clear: to dominate at least to the Panama Canal, and probably beyond that, the weaker republics of Northern South America, as well—the outlook for Colombia's independence, because of its vast oil and other natural resources, is none too good! That this may fairly be said to be a national policy is evident from the fact that it has now run through four administrations, including Democratic and Republican presidents of widely different character and temperament. One after the other has followed this benevolent policy of peaceful penetration accompanied by the familiar forms of pressure such as non-recognition, or the fomenting of revolutions, or, when this was not possible, by deliberate conquest—the latter always, however, sanctified by our alleged humanitarian motives. Only a thorough understanding of the far-reaching menace of this situation and its implications, and a militant alliance of all the forces both in North and South America that oppose the purely exploitative and mercenary aggressions of the imperialists, will serve.

Old Tales from an Old Sea

DOES not the Book of Genesis tell us that the sea was created before mankind? It is older than those who sail it. No wonder, then, that with all our devices for safety and comfort, we cannot tame it—cannot even civilize the conditions which those who follow the sea for a livelihood must encounter. For a good many years we have been hearing of the improvement of the sailor's lot; we have been told of better food and better quarters, better treatment and better pay. Since the United States has resumed a place as a great shipping Power, there has been an especial effort to draw American youth back to salt water and to paint conditions there as having become almost ideal—a complete revolution from the old sailing-ship days, with their "salt horse" and moldy hard-bread, their allowance of a quart of water per day per man for all purposes, their theory of discipline as a state of servitude to be maintained by oaths, officers' fists, and handy belaying-pins.

Of course there has been a vast change for the better. Yet now and again something happens showing how hard it is to introduce, not democracy (still far off) but bare humanity into the relations between "master" and "men"—words which themselves tell an eloquent story. Facts have come to light in regard to two recent voyages which illustrate the point. The American steamship Pocahontas arrived at Naples lately with a story of a delayed voyage, lasting more than a month, and charges of insubordination and sabotage among the crew that carry one back to old-time cut-throat and pirate days. The story as told in the newspapers is that of the captain; it usually is. The crew's side comes out only rarely.

After leaving Boston, the Pocahontas experienced con-

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stant difficulty in maintaining any speed. According to the captain's story, the engine room was flooded on June 5; one of the seamen was placed in irons. The next day two port holes were mysteriously opened and a quantity of supplies was ruined. The day after that ashes were discovered in the dynamo and the men in charge of it were placed in irons. Later, the rudder was disabled. The story of the rest of the voyage, as recorded in the ship's log, reads much like a page from a remote past:

June 14—All the boiler pumps stopped and all fires but one are out. Water continues to flood the engine room. Alfredo Pablo placed in irons for refusing to obey orders, and Louis Prewath, oiler, imprisoned for abandoning his post.

June 16—Arrived at Punta Delgada and discovered an attempt to burn the ship.

June 21—First Engineer G. W. Hinckley and Fourth Engineer F. B. Hinckley and Engineer McMurtrie and Steward Fleming placed in irons, charged with plotting to delay the voyage.

June 22—A slight fire in the hold extinguished.

June 27—Eight feet of water on the lower decks, conduit pipes punctured.

July 4—Engineer Prendergast threw himself overboard. Body recovered. Found both hands tied with large pipe between so he was unable to swim.

Now let us turn to a crew's story, as told by papers filed in a suit in the Municipal Court of New York City. The case will come to trial next autumn. On October 6, last, a vessel of the Northern Steamship Company left New York on a foreign voyage. Upon arrival at Rio de Janeiro the cooled drinking water of the crew was shut off, the chief engineer declaring that the tank was leaking. Nothing was done to fix the tank, and after drinking water of a temperature of 97 to 100 degrees for two days, the crew protested in a body to the captain. He did nothing for them, whereupon permission was asked to go before the American consul. This was at first refused, but finally a delegation of eight was allowed to visit the consulate, where they found the captain had preceded them and complained that they were Bolsheviki. It happened that seven of the crew had been born in Russia, but nearly all of this number had first papers as American citizens.

After some discussion it was promised that the water tank would be fixed, and the men returned to the ship. That night seven of the crew, including one American, were arrested on a charge of mutiny, taken ashore, and confined in jail for fifteen days. Mutiny, it will be recalled, can occur only on the high seas, and all that had happened had been in the harbor of Rio de Janeiro. From prison the men were taken in double irons aboard the steamship Huron. The captain of this vessel protested against this manacling as unnecessary, and refused to transport the men in that condition. The prisoners were then taken aboard the steamship Rushville and carried to New Orleans. There they discovered that they were accused of complicity in the Wall Street bomb explosion, but although Department of Justice agents had them on the rack for five days, not a scintilla of evidence was produced against them, and they were released—penniless and without their wages.

These are two stories from a sea that is older than we are—a sea the conditions of life on which seem as hard to tame as the waves and the winds themselves. We can tame those conditions only as we tame human nature; and the nature of men who follow the sea is a little more untamable than that of most of the rest of us.

The Sabbath at the Source

MICHAEL WIGGLESWORTH leans out over the jasper battlements and cocks his eye along the meridian of Washington. What he sees so elevates his drooping spirits that he bawls down to Cotton Mather, sitting with a circle of learned Rabbins who all agree with each other and with him upon the observances most fit for the Seventh Day. For an hour they have not had a difference among them; it is for that reason that Wigglesworth has wandered away in search of exercise more entertaining. He finds it in the gesticulations of the Southern Methodist Sabbath Saving Crusade, which has its chairman in Washington nagging Congress with new schemes of a blueness to which Wigglesworth enthusiastically subscribes.

"Here's something to cheer you up, Cotton," says Wigglesworth as his colleague joins him on the battlements. "Cast your eye on that chairman and his sabbatical program. He says it shall be henceforth unlawful for any person in the United States to carry on his ordinary vocation on the Sabbath. That's the stuff, Cotton! Trains can't operate on Sunday hereafter, nor post offices be open, nor mails delivered, nor newspapers circulated, nor any business carried on under interstate conditions. Oh, Cotton, isn't that the stuff? Who'd have thought it of those godless Virginians and their offspring? Don't you remember, Cotton, how we used to worry over our sinful neighbors to the south of us? But the saints have spread, Cotton, the saints have spread! Listen to him: 'Within twenty-five years our nation will be a mass of anarchy and ruin if we don't stop the destruction of the Sabbath. No nation ever put the Sabbath out of its life without being wrecked by God's fury. Continental Europe polluted the Sabbath till they had no Sabbath. God's fury broke upon them in the World War. We are fast imitating Europe, and if we repent not ere long the hand of God will be writing our doom as he wrote Belshazzar's.' "

"Really, Michael, it seems to me you shout too loudly over your victory. I am glad, too, but let's slip down quietly and tell the learned Rabbins. I wouldn't make too much noise if I were you, Michael."

"Cotton Mather, have you lost your piety after all these years in Heaven?"

"Don't be impudent. You know as well as I do that Paul is always likely to turn up and quote Scripture to his purpose. And he said some inconvenient things, you will remember—at least he will remember. He actually wrote to the Romans: 'One man esteemeth one day above another: another esteemeth every day alike. Let every man be fully persuaded in his own mind.' And to the Colossians: 'Let no man therefore judge you in meat, or in drink, or in respect of an holyday, or of the new moon, or of the sabbath days.' Why, why did Paul take such a stand? I wish he hadn't talked and written so much when our faith was getting under way."

"Well then, let's tell Jesus."

"Read your Bible, man, read your Bible. The Pharisees caught Jesus eating corn on the Sabbath and talked to Him as the Southern Methodist Sabbath Saving Crusade would like to now. And He said: 'The sabbath was made for man, and not man for the sabbath.' It really is very annoying for Him to have taken such a tone. We could have done better if only He had left us alone."

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The Truth About the American Legion

By ARTHUR WARNER

IX. The Legion and Labor

WHEN one considers that at least nine out of ten of the men mobilized by this country for the European War belonged to what is commonly called the "working-class," there must be something wrong with an organization among them that is regarded either with veiled distrust or downright hostility by the rank and file of organized labor. The drift against the Legion is apparent not only from the columns of the labor press, but from definite official action taken by various bodies of workers. As far back as December, 1919, Detroit Local No. 127, Automobile, Aircraft, and Vehicle Workers of America, ordered its members to resign from the American Legion or be fined $100. It was alleged that the Legion had been used to break strikes and that various posts had "violated the constitutional right of free speech and assemblage." Shortly after, members of the Chicago Painters' Union, Local No. 275, announced their intention to exclude Legionaries from their membership. About the same time the Detroit Federation of Labor, the central body of the city, denounced the Legion by resolution, and in the following May the Central Federated Union of New York—representing the entire membership of the American Federation of Labor in the district—called upon its adherents to withdraw from the Legion, charging strike-breaking in connection with the dock workers' fight.

True, also, there have been expressions from labor in favor of the Legion. The executive council of the California State Federation of Labor asserted its confidence in the Legion early in 1920, while in the spring of the same year Samuel Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor, gave the Legion his indorsement, although he was careful to say he was speaking only in his personal capacity.

What do the facts show? Here, unfortunately for the Legion, there is abundant material for labor's distrust. The New Jersey department chartered a post in Bernardsville which admittedly consisted mainly of men who had helped beat the "outlaw" railway strike. Opposition was withdrawn when the applicants consented to sign a statement that as strike-breakers they had acted as individuals and not as prospective members of the American Legion. A year ago the Citizens' Transportation Committee, organized by employers of New York City to fight the dock workers' demands, announced through the press that it was using members of the American Legion to operate an opposition trucking service. When criticized, Legion officers did not deny the fact; they said the men were acting as individuals.

Most open of all attacks on labor by an influential body of the Legion, however, was that of the New York County organization a year ago, the Americanization Committee of which, under the chairmanship of Lorillard Spencer, drew elaborate plans for combating "radical strikes." As reported in the New York *Times* of May 7, 1920:

> The Legion will act only when it is clearly established that the emergency is inspired by radicals and only in cases where there is inconvenience to the public. No sides will be taken in ordinary labor disputes.
>
> The Legion's preparations include a classification of all its members, so that men may be ready at short notice for every kind of duty. Each post will receive classification cards, so that it can report to the Americanization Committee the exact number of men it has who are skilled in different trades. . . .
>
> Major Spencer made it clear that the Legion did not purpose to take any part in labor troubles which were merely differences between employers and employees and which did not involve the public welfare. The sole purpose, he said, was to protect the public when serious conditions arose.

Mr. Spencer's ingenuous proposal to discriminate between good and bad strikes makes it evident to anyone familiar with the A B C's of the situation that the consequence would be to tolerate unimportant squabbles over wages and hours, but to interfere in controversies involving the underlying rights and the progress of the labor movement.

There have not been lacking attempts to quiet labor's distrust. Early in 1920 Franklin D'Olier, then national commander, issued a statement, subsequently approved by the Cleveland convention, in which he declared for neutrality on the part of the Legion in labor disputes. Likewise the same New York County organization whose right hand planned the campaign against "radical strikes," extended a left hand of welcome in a special resolution approving the "principle of labor unionism" and regretting that "a certain few members of the American Legion have, by their actions, given the unwarranted impression that the Legion members as a body are opposed to organized labor."

The Legion "doth protest too much."

X. An Ally of Big Business

"Birds of a feather flock together." The converse of labor's distrust of and hostility toward the Legion is found in the tenderness and affection felt for it by chambers of commerce, employers' associations, and big business generally. Proof of this is so abundant as scarcely to call for citation, but a round robin sent to various packing interests in Chicago by Swift's purchasing agent shows a friendliness so marked and intimate as to be worth reproducing in full:

> SWIFT AND COMPANY
> *Union Stock Yards*
> Chicago
>
> *December 26, 1919*
>
> At a meeting, held on December 23, 1919, presided over by Mr. Thomas E. Wilson, there were present representatives of the different stock yard interests and it was voted that they contribute $10,000 toward a campaign for funds for the American Legion.
>
> A national drive is being made for the Legion and the amount asked from Illinois is $100,000, Mr. James B. Forgan, chairman of the First National Bank, being treasurer of the fund for Illinois.
>
> The Illinois enrolment in the Legion, in comparison with other States, is very much less than it should be. We are all interested in the Legion, the results it will obtain, and the ultimate effect in helping to offset radicalism.
>
> It is very important that we assist this worthy work, and at the meeting I was asked by the chairman to write to the different stock yard interests for their contribution.
>
> In prorating the amount, it was suggested that we use an arbitrary percentage as a basis and the amount you are asked to contribute is $100.00.
>
> Will you please make check for this amount payable to Mr. Thomas E. Wilson, Chairman?
>
> Kindly send me copy of your letter to Mr. Wilson.
>
> Very truly yours,
> NATHAN B. HIGBIE

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An open letter was addressed to Franklin D'Olier, when he was commander of the Legion, asking some pointed questions to which a public answer was requested. The letter was printed in the *Stars and Stripes*, dated Mexico, Missouri, August 14, 1920, and signed by Gale Johnson, editor of the *Intelligencer*. Here are some of the questions:

> Is it true that you, with certain persons, are planning to name your successor?
>
> Is it your belief that the Legion was founded for the purpose of suppressing legitimate strikes and maintaining "law and order," as the term is used by certain millionaire capitalists?
>
> Is it true that the chairman of two of the most important committees (National Legislative and National Beneficial Legislation), appointed by you, held positions on the Leonard Wood Committee in the pre-convention campaign and retained their offices in the Legion at the same time?
>
> Who are the 400 "friends of the Legion" who indorsed the notes for $257,000, with which the Legion was organized? Was Coleman Du Pont, of the Powder Trust, one of them? Were the packers of Chicago? Was David Goodrich, of the Rubber Trust? Was the Standard Oil Company?

The questions have never been answered.

The *Stars and Stripes*, which is for the service men and is not hostile to the Legion, said editorially a year ago:

> The attempt of certain leaders to promote class hatred, antagonism to aliens, demands for jailing this fellow and deporting that fellow, breaking this strike and outlawing that striker, proved a bad mistake. The apparently successful scheme to keep national control in the hands of the group of officers who founded the Legion at Paris, and who stood for universal service and Leonard Wood for President, has not really succeeded. It [the Legion] started out by borrowing $257,000 from sources unknown to the membership; it sunk this money in its publishing venture, and then had its publication saved to it by other sources equally unknown to the membership. In other words, the Legion is subsidized and its members do not know by whom or for what purpose it is subsidized.

It will be observed that both this letter and this editorial in the *Stars and Stripes* refer to the secret loan of $257,000 with which the Legion was started and also suggest an affiliation between the Legion and the candidacy of General Wood for the Presidency. To this day the names of the men, or man, who advanced the $257,000 have never been made public, although it has been stated that the money has been repaid. The enthusiasm of former service men for the Wood candidacy has never been adequately explained either. The general had not been in France and was without the war record that would naturally be demanded by young men just released from the army. General Wood was specifically the hope of the business groups who were counting on the war spirit in the country to "put over" a regime of political and industrial absolutism. Yet it is undeniable that the Legion was a potent influence in making Wood a strong contender for the Republican nomination. It is true that the Legion never officially indorsed him—that was not necessary—yet a subtle and powerful propaganda was set in motion by individual groups, calculated to appeal to former service men in general and to all that great multitude that had been hypnotized by the thought-control exercised during the war.

XI. Dwindling Membership

Nothing about the American Legion is less justifiable than the way in which it has assumed to speak, and by a tolerant public been allowed to speak, as the representative of nearly 5,000,000 men mobilized for the various fighting services of the United States in the European War. Sponsored by the "right people" (that is, the moneyed and socially prominent) the Legion has found the press eager to boom it and spread the idea that it embraced a majority, if not virtually all, of the former service men. Probably it never included more than one in six and now can claim hardly one in eight of such persons. At the outset the Legion did have a rapid and promising growth. The *American Legion Weekly* of October 10, 1919, claimed 650,000 members for the organization, while the issue of February 13, 1920, boasted a million. The latter statement may be dismissed as over-enthusiastic publicity, but when at its peak last autumn, the Legion had possibly three-fourths of a million members. It has never given exact membership figures, and for some time has refrained from even generous estimates in this respect. The figures that it gives nowadays are of posts, which it says, probably correctly, have been continuously increasing. But this is no test of individual membership. Once established, a post is likely to continue for some years. As long as anybody can be found to finance it (and the Legion is not a poor man's organization), a post will hardly be disbanded, while new groups getting together in various places are bound to add to the total of posts for some time.

In contrast to the misleading appearances of growth as revealed in statistics of new posts, reliable sources of information within the Legion put its present membership at about 600,000, and place the enrolment last February as low as 300,000. The difference between the two figures is not to be taken as an indication of growth, but as due to the method of bookkeeping. All Legion memberships date from January 1 and are renewable annually. It is the duty of each post to collect the dues and forward the required proportion to the national headquarters. There is apt to be some delay in this, so that membership returns early in the year are not indicative of the organization's full strength. The slump in renewed memberships has been so pronounced this year, however, as to alarm the national officers, and only a rainbow chaser can hope now that the end of the year will show anything but a loss over the 1920 figures. The charge that the Legion is only a "card index" organization is hardly fair in view of the circumstance, but it is true that in the second year of its existence its membership is already on the wane, while it has never attained the strength to which its initial prestige and near-monopoly of the field should have entitled it.

Not only is the Legion weak, in numbers, but complaint has been voiced from the first, and is still reiterated, that it contains an undue proportion of former officers and that these men hold most of the offices in, and control the policy of, the organization. This trouble goes back to the foundation of the Legion in France, where the men who started it and the method employed led to early criticism that the organization was one of officers and aristocrats. Fifteen hundred invitations were sent out in the spring of 1919 to individuals in the A. E. F., asking them to avail themselves of the three-day-leave privilege to attend a conference in Paris. "The number of enlisted men present was far below expectations, due to causes ranging from inability to have the delegates named in time for the meeting to difficulties encountered in transportation," said the *Stars and Stripes* of March 21 in describing the conference. One of the "difficulties encountered in transportation" was detailed as follows:

> The road to the caucus was not a path of primroses for all the enlisted delegates. When Col. Carl E. Ristine of the 35th Division and his orderly, also a delegate, arrived at a certain station on the way to Paris, an unfeeling M. P. entered the

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train and commanded that the soldier vacate, evacuate, and otherwise get out, it being an officers' train. The colonel's pleadings were of no avail. The orderly finally arrived at the caucus hall on Monday afternoon [the last day].

Lieutenant Colonel Theodore Roosevelt acted as temporary chairman and Major Eric Fisher Wood as temporary secretary of the conference, of which a delegate remarked that it "smacked slightly of the silk stocking." The conference voted to pass the work on to an executive committee consisting of one officer and one enlisted man from each division. But the shortage of privates was so acute that it was impossible at that time to appoint a representative of the enlisted men for seventeen of the thirty-four units concerned.

Of course the fact that the founders of the Legion were mostly officers and "smacked slightly of the silk stocking" seemed tremendously important to young men just getting out of the army. In reality, it was immeasurably less so than the political and industrial ideas that the Legion leaders held; but the latter aspect seems to have been ignored by the average service man at that time, as it has been since. The subtle character of the support in the Legion for General Wood and industrial absolutism, with its attack on the union shop and on the alien, has been noted. There was nothing subtle, however, about the relation between the Legion and the political boom of "Young Teddy" Roosevelt. The latter, as already recorded, was chairman of the original Legion gathering in Paris. Having secured his fences there, he hurried back to New York, where he was at once taken in hand by business and political groups and groomed for the course of his father. He attended the first Legion caucus in this country—that at St. Louis—where his friends were prepared to elevate him to the leadership of the organization. But something went wrong. Opposition developed, or it appeared to be bad tactics, and at the last moment "Young Teddy" withdrew his name as a candidate. His political career in New York fizzled similarly. He couldn't go the pace, and finally decided to accept a seat in the Assembly, whence he was charitably rescued by the Secretary of the Navy.

XII. The Way Out

What the American Legion is, has been told. It remains to consider what it may become. Certainly there is no legitimate place in this republic for the organization as developed within the past two years. Yet the great body of its members are self-respecting and right-minded young men who have been exploited by a bigoted, business-controlled, undemocratic leadership, which has manipulated the Legion as a Mogul propaganda engine against the true interests of the membership at large and the community as a whole. There are two courses open to loyal and progressive former service men, each advocated by a considerable group. One is to get out or keep out of the Legion and fight it in the open. The other is to stay by the organization and "bore from within."

For those who prefer to fight the Legion outside, there are already several opposition organizations. The best known is the World War Veterans, which claims to have been the first in the field, having been started in the trenches nine days after the armistice. It is especially strong in the Northwest, and has its national headquarters at 505 Temple Court, Minneapolis. It is ready to extend charters to groups of ten or more former service men, and has an Auxiliary which takes in such of the general public as are in sympathy with its slogan: "Enforcement of the Constitution of the United States of America as it is written." The World War Veterans indorse the Fordney bonus bill; they condemn mob action; they demand the recognition of the Irish and Russian republics. Some of the other items in their program follow:

We are unalterably opposed to any form of Compulsory Military Training in America, and we challenge the authority of any group or organization to represent the great mass of ex-service men when they speak therefor.

In the event of war, all profits earned by every individual, firm, and corporation shall immediately become the property of the United States Treasury.

Except in case of invasion of our territory by armed forces, we oppose any declaration of war by the officials responsible for government, unless the issue be first submitted to a vote of all the people.

We insist that America's war debt be paid by the conscription of all incomes over $100,000 per year; by the continuance of the present income tax; and we condemn as yellow the attempt of the agents of Privilege in Congress to shift the burden of the debt from the profiteers to the poor via the Sales Tax.

The Open Shop, so-called, is anarchic in principle, hypocritical in pretense, cowardly in action. It voices the language of slavery, and has no place in America.

Any member of the World War Veterans who knowingly assists in strike-breaking automatically thereby ceases to be a member and disqualifies himself for reinstatement.

Former service men who elect to work within the Legion should stop at nothing less than a house-cleaning that will sweep present leadership and present policies clean out of sight. Beside this task, cleaning the Augean stables was pastime—and the country cannot wait indefinitely for them to do it. They must end the regime of mob violence and the use of the organization to establish policies and laws that abridge ancient and constitutional rights of free conscience, free speech, and free assembly. They must call off attempts to manipulate the schools, to do lip service to labor while covertly attacking it from behind, to hamstring and terrorize the alien, and to obtain a prohibitive tariff against the importation of foreign ideas that might spill the fat that the privileged classes of America have for fifty years been trying out of the immigrant and the working man and woman generally. They must set up broad, expansible, international ideas of Americanism in place of the strait-laced, self-sufficient nationalism which takes as its physical standard the young men who exhibit union suits in the advertising pages of our magazines, and as its mental guides our Coolidges and Ole Hansons and Senator Lusks. The Legion cannot go on excusing acts as "unofficial" or "individual." Of course the right of individual action is not to be denied, but when it is contrary to the law or the Legion constitution, the post concerned should discipline the individual, failing which, the post itself should be disciplined. Moreover, the Legion must recognize that even where it is bound to respect the right of its members to their own course of conduct, it must nevertheless be judged by such conduct. The Legion is what the majority of its members are, whether they be acting officially or only personally.

Under the caption This Day is the Scripture Fulfilled, a newspaper wag recently quoted Luke, 8:30: "And Jesus asked him, saying, What is thy name? And he answered him, My name is Legion: for many devils were entered into him."

The job of the former service men is to cast out the devils, or to cast out the Legion itself, from American life.

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Contemporary American Novelists

By CARL VAN DOREN

VII. WILLA CATHER

WHEN Willa Cather dedicated her first novel, "O Pioneers!" to the memory of Sarah Orne Jewett, she pointed out a link of natural piety binding her to a literary ancestor now rarely credited with descendants so robust. The link holds even yet in respect to the clear outlines and fresh colors and simple devices of Miss Cather's art; in respect to the body and range of her work, it never really held. The thin, fine gentility which Miss Jewett celebrates is no further away from the rich vigor of Miss Cather's pioneers than is the kindly sentiment of the older woman from the native passion of the younger. Miss Jewett wrote of the shadows of memorable events. Once upon a time, her stories all remind us, there was an heroic cast to New England. In Miss Jewett's time only the echoes of those Homeric days made any noise in the world—at least for her ears and the ears of most of her literary contemporaries. Unmindful of the roar of industrial New England, she kept to the milder regions of her section and wrote elegies upon the epigones. In Miss Cather's quarter of the country there were still heroes during the days she has written about, still pioneers. The sod and swamps of her Nebraska prairies defy the hands of labor almost as obstinately as did the stones and forests of old New England. Her Americans, like all the Agamemnons back of Miss Jewett's world, are fresh from Europe, locked in a mortal conflict with nature. If now and then the older among them grow faint at remembering Bohemia or France or Scandinavia, this is not the predominant mood of their communities. They ride powerfully forward on a wave of confident energy, as if human life had more dawns than sunsets in it. For the most part, her pioneers are unreflective creatures, driven by some inner force which they do not comprehend: they are, that is perhaps no more than to say, primitive and epic in their dispositions.

Is it by virtue of a literary descent from the New England school that Miss Cather depends so frequently upon women as protagonists? Alexandra Bergson in "O Pioneers!" Thea Kronborg in "The Song of the Lark," Antonia Shimerda in "My Antonia"—around these as girls and women the actions primarily revolve. It is not, however, as other Helens or Gudruns that they affect their universes; they are not the darlings of heroes but heroes themselves. Alexandra drags her dull brothers after her and establishes the family fortunes; Antonia, less positive and more pathetic, still holds the center of her retired stage by her rich, warm, deep goodness; Thea, a genius in her own right, outgrows her Colorado birthplace and becomes a famous singer with all the fierce energy of a pioneer who happens to be an instinctive artist rather than an instinctive manager, like Alexandra, or an instinctive mother, like Antonia. And is it because women are here protagonists that neither wars, as among the ancients, nor machines, as among the moderns, promote the principal activities of the characters? Less the actions than the moods of these novels have the epic air. Narrow as Miss Cather's scene may be, she fills it with a spaciousness and candor of personality that quite transcends the gnarled eccentricity and timid inhibitions of the local colorists. Passion blows through her chosen characters like a free, wholesome, if often devastating wind; it does not, as with Miss Jewett and her contemporaries, lurk in furtive corners or hide itself altogether. And as these passions are most commonly the passions of home-keeping women, they lie nearer to the core of human existence than if they arose out of the complexities of a wider region.

Something more than Miss Cather's own experience first upon the frontier and then among artists and musicians has held her almost entirely to those two worlds as the favored realms of her imagination. In them, rather than in bourgeois conditions, she finds the theme most congenial to her interest and to her powers. That theme is the struggle of some elect individual to outgrow the restrictions laid upon him—or more frequently her—by numbing circumstances. The early, somewhat inconsequential "Alexander's Bridge" touches this theme, though Bartley Alexander, like the bridge he is building, fails under the strain, largely by reason of a flawed simplicity and a divided energy. Pioneers and artists, in Miss Cather's understanding of their natures, are practically equals in single-mindedness; at least, they work much by themselves, contending with definite though ruthless obstacles, and looking forward, if they win, to a freedom which cannot be achieved in the routine of crowded communities. To become too much involved, for her characters, is to lose their quality. There is Marie Tovesky, in "O Pioneers!" whom nothing more preventable than her beauty and gaiety drags into a confused status and so on to catastrophe. Antonia, tricked into a false relation by her scoundrel lover, and Alexandra, nagged at by her stodgy family because her suitor is poor, suffer temporary eclipses from which only their superb health of character finally extricates them. Thea Kronborg, troubled by the swarming sensations of her first year in Chicago, has to find her true self again in that marvelous desert canyon in Arizona where hot sun and bright, cold water and dim memories of the cliff-dwelling Ancient People detach her from the stupid faces which have haunted and unnerved her.

Miss Cather would not belong to her generation if she did not resent the trespasses which the world regularly commits upon pioneers and artists. For all the superb vitality of her frontier, it faces—and she knows it faces—the degradation of its wild freedom and beauty by clumsy towns, obese vulgarity, the uniform of a monotonous standardization. Her heroic days endure but a brief period before extinction comes. Then her high-hearted pioneers survive half as curiosities in a new order; and their spirits, transmitted to the artists who are their legitimate successors, take up the old struggle in a new guise. In the short story called The Sculptor's Funeral she lifts her voice in swift anger, and in The Golden Slipper she lowers it to satirical contempt, against the dull souls who either misread distinction or crassly overlook it. At such moments she enlists in the crusade against dulness which has recently succeeded the hereditary crusade of American literature against wickedness. But from too complete an absorption in that transient war she is saved by the same strength which has lifted her above the more trivial con-

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cerns of local color. The older school uncritically delighted in all the village singularities it could discover; the newer school no less uncritically condemns and ridicules all the village conventionalities. Miss Cather has seldom swung far either to the right or to the left in this controversy. She has, apparently, few revenges to take upon the communities in which she lived during her expanding youth. An eye bent too relentlessly upon dulness could have found it in Alexandra Bergson, with her slow, unimaginative thrift; or in Antonia Shimerda, who is a "hired girl" during the days of her tenderest beauty and the hard-worked mother of many children on a distant farm to the end of the story. Miss Cather, almost alone among her peers in this decade, understands that human character for its own sake has a claim upon human interest, surprisingly irrespective of the moral or intellectual qualities which of course condition and shape it.

"Her secret?" says Harsanyi of Thea Kronborg in "The Song of the Lark." "It is every artist's secret . . . passion. It is an open secret, and perfectly safe. Like heroism, it is inimitable in cheap materials." In these words Miss Cather furnishes an admirable commentary upon the strong yet subtle art which she herself practices. Fiction habitually strives to reproduce passion and heroism, and in all but chosen instances falls below the realities because it has not truly comprehended them or because it tries to copy them in cheap materials. It is not Miss Cather's lucid intelligence alone, though that too is indispensable, which has kept her from these ordinary blunders of the novelist: she herself has the energy which enables her to feel passion and the honesty which enables her to reproduce it. Something of the large tolerance which she must have felt in Whitman before she borrowed from him the title of "O Pioneers!" breathes in all her work. Like him, she has tasted the savor of abounding health; like him, she has exulted in the sense of vast distances, the rapture of the green earth rolling through space, the consciousness of past and future striking hands in the radiant present; like him, she enjoys "powerful uneducated persons" both as the means to a higher type and something as ends honorable in themselves. At the same time, she does not let herself run on in the ungirt dithyrambs of Whitman or into his followers' glorification of sheer bulk and impetus. Taste and intelligence hold her passion in hand. It is her distinction that she combines the merits of those oddly matched progenitors, Miss Jewett and Walt Whitman: she has the delicate tact to paint what she sees with clean, quiet strokes; and she has the strength to look past casual surfaces to the passionate center of her characters.

The passion of the artist, the heroism of the pioneer—these are the human qualities Miss Cather knows best. Compared with her artists the artists of most of her contemporaries seem imitated in cheap materials. They suffer, they rebel, they gesticulate, they pose, they fail through success, they succeed through failure; but only now and then do they have the breathing, authentic reality of Miss Cather's painters and musicians. Musicians she knows best among artists—perhaps has been most interested in them and has associated most with them because of the heroic vitality which a virtuoso must have to achieve any real eminence. The poet may languish over verses in his garret, the painter or sculptor over work conceived and executed in a shy privacy; but the great singer must be an athlete and an actor, training for months and years for the sake of a few hours of triumph before a throbbing audience. It is, therefore, not upon the revolt of Thea Kronborg from her Colorado village that Miss Cather lays her chief stress, but upon the girl's hard, unspeculative, daemonic integrity. She lifts herself from alien conditions hardly knowing what she does, almost as a powerful animal shoulders its instinctive way through scratching underbrush to food and water. Thea may be checked and delayed by all sorts of human complications, but her deeper nature never loses the sense of its proper direction. Ambition with her is hardly more than the passion of self-preservation in a potent spirit. That Miss Cather no less truly understands the quieter attributes of heroism is made evident by the career of Antonia Shimerda—of Miss Cather's heroines the most appealing. Antonia exhibits the ordinary instincts of self-preservation hardly at all. She is gentle and confiding; service to others is the very breath of her being. Yet so deep and strong is the current of motherhood which runs in her that it extricates her from the level of mediocrity as passion itself might fail to do. Goodness, so often negative and annoying, amounts in her to an heroic effluence which imparts the glory of reality to all it touches. "She lent herself to immemorial human attitudes which we recognize as universal and true. . . . She had only to stand in the orchard, to put her hand on a little crab tree and look up at the apples, to make you feel the goodness of planting and tending and harvesting at last. . . . She was a rich mine of life, like the founders of early races." It is not easy even to say things so illuminating about a human being; it is all but impossible to create one with such sympathetic art that words like these at the end confirm and interpret an impression already made.

"My Antonia," following "O Pioneers!" and "The Song of the Lark," holds out a promise for future development that the work of but two or three other established American novelists holds out. Miss Cather's recent volume of short stories "Youth and the Bright Medusa," striking though it is, represents, it may be hoped, but an interlude in her brilliant progress. Such passion as hers only rests itself in brief tales and satire; then it properly takes wing again to larger regions of the imagination. Vigorous as it is, its further course cannot easily be foreseen; it has not the kind of promise that can be discounted by confident expectations. Her art, however, to judge it by its past career, can be expected to move in the direction of firmer structure and clearer outline. After all, she has written but three novels, and it is not to be wondered at that they all have about them certain of the graceful angularities of an art not yet complete. "O Pioneers!" contains really two stories; "The Song of the Lark," though Miss Cather cut away an entire section at the end, does not maintain itself throughout at the full pitch of interest; the introduction to "My Antonia" is largely superfluous. Having freed herself from the bondage of "plot" as she has freed herself from an inheritance of the softer sentiments, Miss Cather has learned that the ultimate interest of fiction inheres in character. She has still before her the task of putting flawlessly into effect the perception she must already have—that it is as important to find the precise form for the representation of a memorable character as it is to find the precise word for the expression of a memorable idea.

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Success and Failure at Geneva

By ROBERT DELL

Geneva, July 1, 1921

THE thirteenth session of the Council of the League of Nations, which has just ended, has been perhaps the most important yet held, for the Council has had to decide several questions on which the peace of Europe depends. The indifference of the public in all countries to the proceedings of the Council is a mistake, for even those that believe the League of Nations incapable of doing any good must admit that it is capable of doing harm. The Council has done some harm during the last ten days, but it would be unjust to condemn its work as a whole. Its solution of two difficult problems—those of Danzig and the Aaland Islands—has been skilful and will probably be justified in the event. Mr. Fisher deserves great credit for the settlement of the dispute about the Aaland Islands. It was he who at last succeeded, after much patient effort, in bringing the Swedes and the Finns together and inducing them to make mutual concessions.

It would hardly, I think, have been possible to arrive at a more satisfactory settlement in the circumstances. The Swedes are more satisfied with it than they admit publicly, for they have obtained what was after all the most important thing to Sweden—the complete military neutralization of the Aaland Islands under an international guaranty. This goes far to compensate them for the non-satisfaction of their natural sentiment of solidarity with a population of their own race. It is true that the settlement is not in accordance with the principle of self-determination, for the Aalanders undoubtedly wish to be attached to Sweden. But we should not delude ourselves about the principle of self-determination. Its strict and universal application is not possible in existing international conditions and will not become possible until we have established universal free trade and suppressed the sovereign state. Would England allow the Channel Islands to be annexed to France, even if the majority of their inhabitants desired it?

The weakness of the Aalanders' case was that they had no practical grievances. They admitted that they were allowed to use their own language in their schools and elsewhere, that their local customs had not been interfered with, and that the Finnish Government had granted them a large measure of autonomy. Their grievance was, therefore, almost entirely sentimental. A sentimental grievance is not negligible, but its satisfaction was not worth the risk of a war between Finland and Sweden. Any fears that the Aalanders may have had for the future should be removed by the provisions now to be inserted in the law granting them autonomy. Swedish is to be the language of all the public schools and the Finnish language may not even be taught in a public elementary school without the consent of the commune. Nobody domiciled outside the province will be allowed to acquire land in it until the Provincial Council, the commune, and any individual domiciled in the province have first had the option of buying it. Immigrants into the Aaland Islands from the rest of Finland will not have the right to vote until they have been domiciled there for five years. The Governor will be appointed by agreement between the President of the Finnish Republic and the Aaland Landsting, or in default of such agreement, will be chosen by the President from a list of five persons submitted to him by the Landsting. These guaranties will be under the protection of the League of Nations. The Finnish Government is bound to transmit to the Council of the League any complaint of the Aaland Landsting in regard to the application of the guaranties and the Council may, if necessary, consult the Court of International Justice.

The settlement of the various questions concerning Danzig must also be counted a success, particularly the ingenious method by which the Poles have been prevented from realizing their desire to make Danzig a Polish military and naval base and have at the same time been secured full access to the sea. The Poles are not satisfied and still hanker after fortifications and a Polish garrison, but they will end in accepting the inevitable. The President of the Danzig Senate, Dr. Sahm, was justified in his opinion that the Council has made arrangements likely to reduce to a minimum the opportunities for friction between Poland and the free town of Danzig. The decision to stop the manufacture of arms and munitions of war in Danzig is also satisfactory, in spite of the hardship that it involves, at least temporarily, to some twelve hundred workmen.

Unfortunately the Council was less successful in dealing with some of the other matters before it. Its worst decisions are those concerning Albania and the Saar Valley. The disgraceful refusal to consider the appeal of Albania, suggesting as it does British and French connivance in Greek and Serbian territorial ambitions, will do much to destroy confidence—if there was any—in the impartiality of the Council. In the Saar the French Government has been given a free hand, for M. Rault, president of the Saar Governing Commission, is a mere agent of the French Government. Mr. Fisher had evidently been instructed to follow the French lead in regard to the Saar. In the earlier days of the session one had the impression that M. Hanotaux dominated the Council. He has certain advantages over most of his colleagues: a thorough acquaintance with international politics and a large knowledge of European history and geography. But the first impression turned out to be mistaken. Mr. Fisher was well able to hold his own when he wished. It was he, for example, that insisted on the withdrawal of General Zeligowski's troops from the Vilna district, and the check to Polish ambitions in Danzig was mainly due to him. But the decisions of the Council were for the most part deals between the British and French Governments. Except for ornamental purposes, the representatives on the Council of the other states might just as well have stayed at home. On the principle of give and take the British Government had evidently decided to leave the French a free hand in the Saar, where no British interest was involved. So Mr. Fisher joined in M. Hanotaux's congratulations to M. Rault on his "liberal" policy, as shown by the method of sending critics of that policy for trial before a French court martial—not as an incident of martial law, which ceased in the Saar long ago, but as a normal procedure.

It would be difficult to find anything in the treaty justifying the existence of a French court martial in the Saar. The consent of the Council to the continuance of French

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military jurisdiction in cases of espionage affecting the security of the French army is a violation of the spirit, if not the letter, of the treaty. For what business has a French army in the Saar? M. Rault explained that it was not an army of occupation, but merely a garrison: the distinction is a fine one. No explanation, however, was necessary on M. Rault's principle that he has a right to interpret the treaty as he pleases. The treaty says that order is to be maintained in the Saar by a local gendarmerie: M. Rault interprets that provision as meaning that order is to be maintained by a French army, and the Council has sanctioned his interpretation. According to M. Rault there are about 400 gendarmes and police in the Saar, including the municipal police of Saarbruck. Presumably the German authorities succeeded in keeping order with that force, or a slightly larger one. M. Rault declares that he cannot keep 700,000 people in order with a force of less than 4,000 gendarmes, and meanwhile he has 7,000 French soldiers. No doubt a foreign government requires a large force to keep down the hostile population of an occupied territory, but the French Government, as the largest employer of labor in the Saar, is determined to allow no strikes. It is against the workmen in particular that the French army is to be used. That was made very clear by M. Rault's statement. The bias of the Council was shown by its omission to invite the German Government to send a representative to support its protest and defend the inhabitants of the Saar who, deprived as they are of representation, have no other defender. This was the only case in which the Council did not hear both sides.

The humiliating failure of the Council in the matter of the Polish-Lithuanian dispute has at last demanded the evacuating of the contested territory by the Polish army. It should have made evacuation and the observance by Poland of her engagements a preliminary condition of negotiations. As it is the Lithuanians have no confidence in the Poles and very little in the Council itself, and they suspect M. Hymans of being too much under French influence to be impartial. M. Hymans's attempt, with the support of the Council, to force on them in advance one of the provisions of a scheme accepted only as a "basis of discussion"—the division of Lithuania into two autonomous cantons—particularly irritated them. And they are alarmed at some of the other provisions of M. Hymans's scheme, particularly the proposed military convention which might, they feel, drag Lithuania into Polish adventures, in spite of the fact that it is "defensive," as usual. It is difficult to maintain that the independence of Lithuania is preserved by a scheme giving Poland "the free use of Lithuanian ports and territory for the transport of goods, including war material," without giving the corresponding right to Lithuania. The scheme is in fact, whatever Mr. Fisher may think, one for the federation of Poland and Lithuania with Poland as top dog. No Russian Government would be likely to tolerate it and it would probably result in war rather than peace. There is no good reason for forcing the Lithuanians into such a federation. The attempt has left the relations of the two countries more strained than ever, and at the last private meeting of the Council the Polish and Lithuanian delegates nearly came to blows. What will happen next it is impossible to say. The situation is grave.

There can be no solution of the Vilna problem so long as Russia is left out of the discussion. M. Hymans's scheme is in fact the first step toward the realization of the dream of the Quai d'Orsay of a strong military Polish Power to be used against Germany and Russia. In the disguise of a federation under Polish domination the old Polish kingdom is to be restored. This policy would be the ruin of Poland, for it would inevitably lead to a conflict with Russia and the ultimate issue of such a conflict is not doubtful. The Quai d'Orsay is more to blame than the Poles, whose appetite it has whetted and whose ambitions it has influenced. M. Askenazy, the Polish representative at Geneva, was in a difficult position. Being a Jew and therefore suspect to the fanatical Polish Nationalists, he could the less easily make concessions and he will probably be attacked for the concessions that he has made, although no doubt the Polish Government agreed to them. He is a very intelligent man and must realize the danger that Poland runs by being made the catspaw of France. Federation is probably the ultimate solution of all the problems of the Russian border states, but it must be a federation including both Poland and Russia—not the present centralized Russia, but a Russia itself divided into autonomous provinces. Some enlightened Poles realize that already and their number will increase as time goes on, for close association with Russia is essential to Poland. Perhaps Lenin, who has already shown himself so ready to admit mistakes and correct them, will realize it too, and consent to the concessions necessary to make such a federation possible.

The Old Perplexity

By OSCAR WILLIAMS

I

Beauty is waving her silver rains
  Over the hills, now the night is gone;
The lips of the valley part in wonder,
  Earth is breathless in the silver dawn.

And far away where the cities dream,
  Where beauty falters and wonder dies,
A soft blue glowing fills the pavements
  Like dawning gladness in shadowy eyes.

II

But all the twilights are phantom seas
  That flooded the world in long dead years,
And all the winds are unborn sorrows,
  And all the stars are luminous tears.

And there is one afraid of the night
  Who raised gray walls around bits of space;—
While under the darkness the lamplight glows
  And under the lamplight an evil face.

III

But who may fathom beauty's ways,
  The strange hushed secrets of the dancer?—
She sweeps the hills with silver rains
  And cries: "The question is the answer!"

And I would be content to feel,
  When I am through with dusty care,
About me in the dream of dreams
  And darkness for her loosened hair.

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The Arbitrator

FOR three years The Arbitrator *has been published as an independent magazine, presenting both sides of social, economic, and religious questions in the form of debates or symposiums.* The Nation *has now arranged a combination whereby two or more pages once a month will be devoted to the analysis of social affairs in an effort to find the truth that is so often evaded by both conservative and radical publications.*

All communications concerning this section should be addressed to The Arbitrator, *P. O. Box 42, Wall Street Station, New York City.*

Civics vs. Bolshevism

[From the School Page (Home Edition) of the *Evening Mail*, N. Y.]

HOW ONE SCHOOL REFUTED RADICAL DOCTRINES IN THE CLASSROOM

JOSEPH T. GRIFFIN, principal of P. S. 114, Manhattan, has prepared an article for a coming issue of *Bench and Bar*, in which he describes how radical doctrines were answered in one school, whose pupils had heard "the theories of socialism and neo-bolshevism preached from soap-box and cart-tail." The school referred to is not Mr. Griffin's, though he does not identify it in the article.

"The principal of this school," writes Mr. Griffin, "realizing that the pupils were being strongly influenced by the false economic doctrines rampant in the neighborhood, requested the pupils of the upper grades to write their views quite fully in the form of unsigned essays.

"These papers showed that the following beliefs prevailed:

1. That immigrants coming to this country are fooled; they expect to come to a land of plenty, and instead are compelled to work in sweatshops.

2. That the employers grind the last penny of profit out of the workers.

3. That the government—city, State, and national—helps the employers to exploit the workers.

4. That the people have been robbed of their rights, and that every rich man's mansion has been stolen from the earnings of oppressed workers.

5. That the laboring class pays for all public activities, and bears the burden of government, while the rich, through the connivance of corrupt politicians, go untouched by any of the burdens of citizenship.

6. That a social and economic revolution would destroy the power of the rich ruling classes and elevate the poor to the condition of luxury and ease enjoyed by their oppressors.

Applied Arithmetic

"The principal, after reading these effusions, entered some of the classrooms and engaged many of the pupils in conversation, with the idea of getting them to tell the source of their views and otherwise amplify them. In one class, a girl of fourteen was very vehement in her conviction that the workers paid all the taxes, owned the schools, paid the teachers' salaries, and otherwise bore the brunt of the public burden.

"The principal learned that this child was the oldest of three children attending school; that she had an older brother getting $65 a week as a mechanical chauffeur; another brother getting $40 a week as a motor truck driver; that her mother made $40 a week in a sweatshop; that her father made $40 weekly as a barber.

"The principal went to the blackboard and wrote down these sums: $65 plus $40 plus $40 plus $40 equals $185, weekly, or $740 monthly. 'Now,' said the principal, 'let us do a little work in arithmetic. What is the amount you pay for rent?' 'Twenty-one dollars a month,' was the reply.

"The class performed a simple arithmetical operation and found that this family paid $3 a month for each of its seven members, or 10 cents a day. 'We shall now do a little bookkeeping,' said the principal. 'In one column we shall place the amount that each member of this family pays in taxes in the form of rent, and in the other column we shall list what each receives in return.'

Tax Returns

She then listed the following:

1. A house to shelter the family, built by some obnoxious landlord. A palace in comparison with the hovels of Russia.

2. Water supply, brought down from the Catskill Mountains, 125 miles away, over the mountains, through the valleys, under the Hudson River, beneath the pavements of the city streets, and through pipes right into their very apartment.

3. The benefit of a tenement house department, which protects the morals and safety of all the dwellers in their house.

4. A fire department, which has sturdy, trained men, ready every minute of the day and night for any signal of danger which may be flashed to them from the denizens of that abode.

5. A board of health, which sends trained nurses and doctors to their home in case of illness, and maintains hospitals where the most expert physicians and surgeons minister to the wants of the sick and injured. Even their meat and milk are carefully inspected at public expense.

6. A police department, which protects their safety in the streets and in their home against marauders and criminals.

For Ten Cents a Day

[By this time the class was bubbling with excitement and joining after each period in a derisive chorus: "And all for ten cents a day." Hands were raised by pupils, impatient to tell what other social and personal advantages the members of this and other families received for an insignificant tax paid in the form of rent. They continued to enumerate]:

7. A park department which provides places of diversion and recreation.

8. A library department which places free within the reach of all the latest works of fiction and research.

9. A system of courts, magistrates' and municipal, where the "poor man" could state his case without the cost of employing a lawyer.

10. A system of museums, maintained partly at public expense and partly through the private voluntary contributions of the wealthy, where the art and wonders of the world are gathered for the joy of all.

11. A bureau of free lectures where the brightest of intellects of the day give their message of enlightenment to all who choose to listen.

[The principal at this point had to check the enthusiasm. "And how about the schools? You haven't mentioned them." And so the twelfth item was added.]

12. A system of free schools extending through kindergarten, elementary, high school and college, where skilled instruction, books and pencils, paper and materials all are furnished free.

"One pupil remarked that the pencils and materials would cost the student more than 10 cents a day," Mr. Griffin goes on.

"The students in this school all had a sense of money values. They looked with astonishment at the juvenile radical who admitted that the family income was $740 a month, or $8,880 a year, and that their only contribution to the community was the pittance paid in the form of rent.

"The absurdity of the whole theory of bolshevism in this country burst upon them," concludes Mr. Griffin. "What more could the most radical system of socialism do for these people than was already being done for them? Of course it could compel them to pay their fair share of the cost of those community benefits which they enjoy but which are being paid for out of the assessments levied upon corporations and individuals of wealth.

"It is the opinion of the writer that if this kind of instruction were carried on throughout the schools of America, it

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would not be necessary to pass drastic laws to suppress the so-called doctrine of the 'Reds.' The folly of their procedure would be revealed in the clear light of knowledge, and ridicule, not revolution, would be the reward of their pains."

Arbitrary Comment

IT is probable that the members of the Sons of the Revolution, to whom a reprint of this article in the *Evening Mail* was sent from their headquarters, considered that the radical doctrines enumerated were fairly refuted by this public school principal, but let us examine the facts.

It is undoubtedly true that radical theories are prevalent, and are similar to those stated. It is also fair to call attention to the various public and private benefits that accrue to a resident in New York City, but there might have been a commotion if a teacher had arisen in the school and extended the principal's arguments as follows: "Yes, children, you should appreciate that the water supply, parks, police, libraries, museums, free schools, and lectures are provided by the city, not by individuals, and that there will be still greater benefits for all of you if the public welfare is considered more important than individual profit in other lines as well. The city or State or Federal Government might furnish to the people coal, ice, transportation, food, clothing, and all other necessities of life." (At this point the Board of Education would dismiss the teacher as disloyal.)

The great injustice of the whole presentation of the case is in the customary method of exaggerating the income of the workers. In the report of a prominent iron company the salaries of two union organizers are given as $90 and $66 a day, instead of their true salaries of $8 and $4 respectively. This was exposed by the Federal Industrial Commission. It is only a little more misleading than the inference now spread broadcast that the family of a schoolgirl, who was vehement in her dissatisfaction with things as they are, was enjoying an income of $8,880 a year. The principal should have censored the parents for their mode of living. She might have said: "The reason you are discontented is that you do not know how to enjoy your large income. I do not get anything like $8,880 a year and yet I can have many comforts. When the experts placed the minimum of subsistence for a family of five at $2,100 they were much blamed for exaggerating the needs of working-class people; for the average family lives on far less than the minimum required for an American standard of living. What you should do is to rent an apartment for $100 a month instead of $21. Your mother should keep a maid and dress you better and enjoy life as those with $8,880 can do."

Seriously, it is probable that not one child in that public school came from a family having $8,880 a year, and not one out of a hundred from a family having $3,000. The wages of the four working members may be correct, though they seem high, but unemployment and sickness interfere. The two brothers may have been married so that their earnings did not go to the family, or the little girl may have lied. One thing is sure, the newspapers and Americanization societies are endeavoring to prove their case from false premises. If the average family has even half the amount set forth as an example, there is no excuse for discontent. Any fair investigation will reveal a totally different state of facts, so let us reserve decision on the need for social change until we learn the true status of the family whose mother works in a sweatshop and whose father is a barber. The average income of an adult worker in normal times was less than $750.

Other inaccuracies in the lesson to school children are the implication that the rent paid is the only contribution of the worker to society, and that the "poor man" can obtain equal justice through the courts. They overlook the indirect tax paid in the purchase of all commodities, and the discrimination against the poor in the courts, as pointed out in "Justice and the Poor" published by the Carnegie Foundation.

It is also an unfortunate fact that the poor are obliged to pay more than the rich for certain necessities, such as coal, ice, and flour, because they can buy only in small quantities. They can give less attention to their health on account of the cost of doctors and medicines, and for fear of the consequences of remaining away from work while ill.

If bolshevism is intended to overthrow a system under which a family can earn $8,880, or even $3,000, and rent a suitable home for $21 a month, it is indeed "absurd." If it is intended to substitute the rule of the minority for that of the majority, it is immoral. On the other hand, if it would surely benefit the workers rather than the employers, it would be advantageous to the majority (for employers are in a small minority). But the methods of government proposed by bolshevists might not accomplish the results claimed, so the radical change should not be brought about by violence, but only when the majority has been convinced that political action is necessary to improve living conditions. There can be no danger in permitting absolute freedom in advocating political changes for the purpose of benefiting the public. When liberals are forcefully prevented from advancing their arguments for peaceful reform, the temper of the disinherited grows bitter.

In order to fight a new theory that is apparently disadvantageous to us all, it is necessary first to know existing conditions and then to examine the proposed substitute. Men of highest standing are either ignorant of life among the poor, or are willing to misrepresent facts for the sake of maintaining the old order, as has been done in the Civics vs. Bolshevism article.

We should like to have a definition, in less than 200 words, from students of politics, of what "Bolshevism" means to them. Some understand the term to refer only to the system of soviet government which has been in operation in Russia for several years; others believe that any legislation to raise the status of the worker as a class is bolshevistic. Some consider that it always involves violence; others affirm that a non-resistant comes under the same classification. Some say that it is the rule of a minority class; others that it is a form of government in the interests of the majority. Many appear to believe that a literal interpretation of the Declaration of Independence, the Sermon on the Mount, and our Constitutional Amendments is bolshevistic. What does it mean to you who are fighting it?

The Arbitrator,
P. O. Box 42, Wall Street Station,
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The Day: July 2

By JAMES RORTY

The world stopped. What was it stopped the world? The world listened. What was it set all the world to listening?

. . . . . .

I saw a newspaper syndicate scribe writing something about "the crown of the universe," and the next morning twenty million people read what he wrote, from Oshkosh to San Diego;

I saw a street full of white faces staring up at a bulletin board in Chicago;

I saw a crowd of trappers gathered tense about a clicking telegraph instrument in Nome;

I saw ten thousand audiences in ten thousand motion picture palaces from Paris to Spokane sitting silent as if in church, waiting, waiting. . . .

All the silk-shirted Gallic sports from Brussels to Marseilles and from Brest to Nancy were gathered in the cafes drinking wine and praying for a miracle to happen somewhere in New Jersey.

I saw the stage chug past in the Sacramento Valley; I heard the stage driver call and I saw a farmer drop his plow and put his hand to his ear, listening, listening. . . .

When it was three o'clock in Jersey City it was eleven o'clock in San Francisco, and all the office boys stopped work.

I heard the wireless buzz-buzzing from Iceland to Cape Town, from Yokohama to Rome, and from ship to ship across the oceans.

In Iowa I saw the editor of the Red Haw Gazette paste a bulletin in the window of his office, and every citizen of Red Haw was in the street outside holding his breath and waiting.

I saw a copra planter in Polynesia paddle out to a passing steamship and ask "Who won, Captain, who won?"

I heard the same question asked from Liverpool to Los Angeles and I saw ten thousand telephone girls pat their back hair and answer "We haven't heard yet."

The King of England spoke an aside in the ear of the Lord High Chamberlain, and the Lord High Chamberlain spoke in the ear of his Secretary, and I heard the Secretary whisper in the ear of the marble footman in the hall "Have you heard?"

The ten thousand wives of the King of Siam were all in a flutter waiting for the King to ride back from town on his white elephant bearing the news.

The passionate Turk forgot to kill; the Armenian forgot to flee; they were both waiting for something and couldn't go on.

. . . . . .

The world stopped. The world listened. What was it stopped the world?

I, who am full of faith—what could I think? What could I guess?

I guessed that maybe it would be Gabriel with a trumpet a mile long and terrible things to say.

I guessed that maybe the professors on Mars had tuned their wireless to ours, and were going to tell us all a Cosmic Anecdote.

I guessed that maybe somebody had found Truth, and was leading her by the hand where all the world could see her face and hear her speak.

I guessed that maybe the Father of the world had clapped his hands and called us all to hear a Lesson.

I guessed that maybe the white veil of Peace was falling from the sky, and we were all standing waiting for it to light upon the earth.

I guessed that maybe the hoof-beats of a movie pursuit had followed Laughter, the lost child, to the edge of the world, and all the wry lips of the world were hoping again to smile.

. . . . . .

The world stopped. The world listened. What was it stopped the world? What was it set all the world to listening?

In the Driftway

WHAT is it that keeps Ireland green? Is it the vegetation or the sentiment for the "ould sod" which Irishmen carry with them the world over? Perhaps the answer is in an incident that occurred the other day when the steamship Caronia docked in New York. One of the passengers was an Irish miss of some sixty summers who was returning from a visit to her girlhood home in County Limerick. She brought a bit of Irish sod to transplant in her Texas garden—a bit of shamrock, a primrose, some ivy and ferns. But at the dock unsentimental officialdom interposed. Customs inspectors seized the basket, informing the owner that the United States Department of Agriculture had placed an embargo on plants from abroad because of fear that dangerous fungi might be introduced into this country. Pleadings were vain, and the bit of "ould sod" was taken back on the Caronia to be burned in the ship's furnaces. Then it was that it occurred to the ship's purser—whose name happens to be Owen—that although the basket of greenery could not enter the United States, there was nothing to prevent its traveling the high seas as long as anybody was sufficiently interested to care for it. Thereupon Purser Owen adopted the bit of "ould sod" as his own, sending word to the tearful woman on the pier that the basket should rove the sea on the Caronia forever and a day, spreading its perfume and its message from Erin among the passengers.

* * * * *

HOW is this for summer reading, or writing—or what you will?

How silent is the lobster's lot!
From primal ooze to final salad
He sings no song himself, and not
A poet hymns him in a ballad.

Go to the lobster, early bird!
Consider him, O late mosquito!
Like him be wise without a word—
Inestimably incognito.

THE DRIFTER

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Correspondence

A Letter of Appreciation

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: The undersigned, Dominicans residing in New York, have the honor to convey to you, by means of this note, their approval of the ideas expressed in your editorial in the issue of June 29, condemning after a detailed account of its defects the plan of President Harding to restore the Dominican Republic to her independence trampled under foot since 1916. The undersigned take this opportunity to signify their gratitude for the noble work of *The Nation* in behalf of the rights and liberties of the Dominican people.

MANUEL F. CESTERO	ALBERTO DE LA ROSA
ALICIA G. DE CESTERO	JOSE M. MEJIA
JULIO ACOSTA, HIJO	JULIETA P. DE MCGREGOR
ALFLORES CABRERA	RAFAEL RODRIGUEZ
JOSEFA DE LOPEZ	RENE BORGIA

New York, June 30

In Praise of Form

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: May I thank you for giving space to so excellent and original a poem as Clement Wood's Canopus? There is a high imaginative quality in it which ought to make it remembered. Lines like

"Gilding chill seas, frigid, unamorous,"
"To halve the sky of some lost, jungled shore,"
"While the wind whined and the thin stars passed over,"

should leave a strange echo in the memory like those of the great masters. But to me the most significant thing about the poem is its form. Those of us who do not greatly relish the vagaries of free verse, look to see them combated by variety, originality, and flexibility in the older, established measures. Some of Mr. Wood's lines go to excess in this direction. But generally he has a throbbing sensitiveness in his rhythm, a fluent ease and wide adaptability which make his music passionate as well as graceful. Especially I like the narrative effect of his stanza and commend it to him or any one else for the telling of a longer story. In the octave or Spenserian the closing couplet divides the subject matter almost fatally into a series of discrete compartments, and the skill of the greatest masters has rarely been able to overcome this drawback. But Mr. Wood has, if I am not mistaken, devised a new stanza-form which, while preserving the enchantment of rhyme, gives something of the continuity of the terza-rima, a narrative medium which has never yet been used in English with real success.

I hope Mr. Wood—and you—will be tempted to further efforts of a similar character, or different, or even better.

Wellesley Hills, Mass., July 12 GAMALIEL BRADFORD.

From a California Teacher

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Apropos of the article Good News from California in your issue of June 22, may I throw further light on the subject? I am (or rather was) a teacher of social science in the high school at Claremont, the little town so distressingly mentioned in a news bulletin of the Better America Federation as having elected a Socialist to its school board. That bulletin, the essence of which you give on page 869 of the above-mentioned issue of *The Nation*, in its reference to Claremont contains several untruths: In the first place the member elected to the school board who is called a Socialist is not a Socialist; in the second place she was not elected but reelected—after a hard fight in which the "red-blooded Americans" tried to save their school and children from bolshevism; finally, Upton Sinclair's "The Jungle" was taken out by a student one week *before* the election and not one week after.

The Better America Federation reported me to the State Superintendent of Public Instruction as teaching "unsound economics" in my classes; as having recommended "The Jungle" as a "good study book" in English and civics (I don't teach English); as making use of *The Nation* in my classes; and as having read a letter which had appeared in the Claremont *Courier* and which seemed to advocate "the teaching in our schools of socialism or even a more liberal economics."

Incidentally, I have been forced to seek my livelihood in other quarters, since the "One Hundred Per Centers" threatened trouble if I came back. I fear there will be trouble anyway, for two members of the school board are liberals (and, therefore, Socialists or worse) and the other member is a professor of psychology in Pomona College!

Let me further add one word in regard to another article in the same issue of *The Nation*—the brief article entitled Better News from California. Not only was a new board of education elected in Los Angeles without the aid of the newspapers, but even in spite of them. The Los Angeles *Times* devoted more than a whole page to the election, laying special emphasis on the achievements of the board just ousted (chief of their achievements being their stand for 100 per cent Americanism and against radicalism), and urging every loyal citizen to vote for the then incumbents.

Claremont, California, June 24 WILLIAM H. POYTRESS

The Lusk Report's Brazen Industrial Feudalism

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: The excellent review of the Lusk-Stevenson Report in *The Nation* for July 13 stresses two important features of that amazing production. The first is misrepresentation of persons whose views are displeasing to the authors of the Report; the second is the device of stigmatizing as "socialistic," or at least as revolutionary, every worth-while proposal of industrial reform. May I have space to call attention to the fact that the Report manages to commit both these faults in its brief treatment of the attitude of the Catholic Church?

In the chapter on Socialism and the Churches, the Report paraphrases and condenses (page 1123 of the first volume) those portions of the Pastoral Letter of the American Hierarchy which emphasize the moral and religious aspect of industrial problems, the rights of the public, and the necessity of the exercise of good-will by both capital and labor; but it ignores the declaration of the Pastoral in favor of labor unions, labor participation in the management of industry, and ownership by the workers of the tools of production. This is misrepresentation by one-sided statement. A more flagrant instance of dishonesty occurs in the discussion of the Bishops' Program of Social Reconstruction (page 1139 of the first volume): "A certain group in the Catholic Church with leanings toward socialism, under the leadership of the Rev. Dr. Ryan, professor at the Catholic University of Washington, issued in January, 1918, a pamphlet called 'Social Reconstruction, a General Review of the Problems, and a Survey of Remedies.'" This is a lie. The authors of the Report must have known that it was a lie, for in the very next sentence they state: "It was issued by the Committee on Special War Activities of the National Catholic War Council in Washington." . . . This is correct, and the names of the members of the committee are as follows: Reverend John J. Burke, C.S.P., chairman; Right Reverend Mgr. Edw. A. Kelly, LL.D., Right Reverend Mgr. M. J. Splaine, D.D., Right Reverend Mgr. Henry T. Drumgoole, Reverend William

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J. Kerby, Ph.D., John G. Agar, Esq., treasurer; Charles I. Denechaud, overseas commissioner; and Michael J. Slattery, executive secretary. Dr. Ryan's name is not in this list, and he had no part in the issuing of the pamphlet. The second lie in the former of the two sentences quoted from the Report is that the members of this committee have "leanings toward socialism." Not one of them has ever been so characterized by anyone who knows the meaning of language and possesses a decent sense of responsibility for his assertions. The Right Reverend Monsignori on the committee and Mr. John G. Agar, the Wall Street man, will no doubt be highly amused to find themselves in the category of "leaners" toward socialism. Misrepresentation by understatement is seen in the declaration of the Report that the Social Reconstruction Program "was signed by four bishops." This is an amusing anticlimax. The reader who did not know any better would assume that the signature of the four bishops was the least important factor or feature of the pamphlet, and that they had signed it merely as individuals. The adequate statement of the facts is that these bishops constituted the Administrative Committee, that is, the supreme authority, of the National Catholic War Council, which was composed of the archbishops in the United States. Therefore, the four bishops were acting in an official capacity, and the pamphlet was issued at their direction after it had been carefully read by each of them.

The second fault illustrated by the Report in its treatment of the Catholic Church is the stigmatizing of reform proposals as "socialistic." We read on page 1139: "Where the socialistic tendency of the committee shows itself most clearly is in what is said under the head of 'Cooperation and Copartnership.' This statement is of sufficient importance to be quoted:

"'Nevertheless, the full possibilities of increased production will not be realized so long as the majority of the workers remain mere wage earners. The majority must somehow become owners, or at least in part, of the instruments of production. They can be enabled to reach this stage gradually through cooperative productive societies and copartnership arrangements. In the former, the workers own and manage the industries themselves; in the latter, they own a substantial part of the corporate stock and exercise a reasonable share in the management. However slow the attainment of these ends, they will have to be reached before we can have a thoroughly efficient system of production, or an industrial and social order that will be secure from the danger of revolution. It is to be noted that this particular modification of the existing order, however far-reaching and involving to a great extent the abolition of the wage system, would not mean the abolition of private ownership. The instruments of production will still be owned by individuals, not by the state.'"

Hilaire Belloc declares that the most discouraging feature of industrial conditions in England is the fact that the great proletarian masses of that country "have lost the instinct, use, and meaning of property," that their "attitude toward property and toward that freedom which is alone obtainable through property is no longer an attitude of experience or of expectation." Happily, the working classes in the United States have not yet reached that deplorable depth in their thinking and their outlook; but the authors of the Lusk Report evidently desire that the workers should become stratified as mere wage earners. In the minds of those who prepared this Report the only normal industrial order is that in which the ownership and operation of the instruments of production are concentrated in the hands of a small directing class, while the masses remain entirely dependent upon their employers. To advocate workers' ownership of even a part of the instruments of production is "socialistic." Yet Pope Leo XIII, who condemned socialism, declared that one of the first concerns of the state should be "to multiply property owners." The industrial creed of the Lusk-Stevenson Report is naked and brazen industrial feudalism.

Washington, D. C., July 11 JOHN A. RYAN

Books

Those Founding Fathers

The Founding of New England. By James Truslow Adams. The Atlantic Monthly Press.

READERS of the "True Biographies" which were somewhat in fashion a few years ago not seldom felt an uncomfortable suspicion that the writers were at least as much concerned to prove that the worthies whose lives were sketched were not the kind of persons they had commonly been supposed to be as they were to take fair account of all aspects of the case. The line which separates such essentially destructive criticism from just and comprehensive historical writing is at best a hazy one, and it cannot be said that Mr. Adams, with all his obvious attempt at impartiality as well as truthfulness, has always regarded it. Perhaps he has felt that it ought frankly to be overstepped in the interest of historical verity, in which case he is entitled to his opinion. One puts down his book, however, with the impression that the New England Puritans were an extremely disagreeable group, that their virtues and achievements have been enormously overrated, and that most of what was good in early New England and in the generations immediately following struggled to the light in spite of them rather than with their aid. There is no use in quarreling with a picture every essential line of which is vouched for by a document, yet the reader to whom patriotism of the traditional kind still seems worth cherishing may nevertheless well rejoice that most of the leaders whose careers Mr. Adams traces already have their monuments or commemorative tablets, since few of them seem greatly to merit such distinctions once Mr. Adams has finished with them. Doubtless there are fervent souls who, in the face of all evidence to the contrary, will continue to think of colonial New England as a paradise which has been lost, but there are more who, if they ponder Mr. Adams's pages, will think of it rather as a pit from which free spirits struggled hard and long to escape.

So far as the main substance of the story goes there is not much in the volume that is new. Mr. Adams is not the first writer to examine attentively the Puritan character in action, the unblushing repudiation of political, religious, and intellectual liberty which characterized the Massachusetts leaders of the sect, their harsh treatment of dissent, their sharp dealings with neighboring settlements and the home government, or their brutal conduct of Indian wars. Nor is he the first to link colonial history with English history, or to trace the beginnings of the idea of empire, or to point out the significance of the frontier. English historians, like Gardiner and Doyle, American scholars like Osgood, Andrews, and Beer, and a host of students whose work too often has appeared only in the publications of historical societies, have pointed out the same paths or elaborated the same points of view. Far the larger part of the material which Mr. Adams has used has for years been easily within the reach of any historian who cared to utilize it. What he has done, and done with convincing skill and thoroughness, is to draw from these widely scattered sources a story of the beginnings of New England in which the parts played by adventure, commercial rivalry, political and religious dogma, territorial expansion, and political conflicts with the mother country are comprehensively analyzed and appraised. He has discarded tradition and hero-worship and written history. He has put colonial New England in its place, not as a heaven-inspired experiment apart, but as a phase of American and British development.

That the New England of tradition suffers sadly in the process is not, on the whole, to be regretted, for it is time that the truth were widely known. Yet rarely has an idol which was the work of men's hands, and before which successive generations even to the present day have worshiped with awe, been more completely destroyed. The ruthless disregard of justice and equity,

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the firm grip of a self-constituted oligarchy to whom liberty in any form was a thing to be feared, the cruel punishment of opposition, the intellectual sterility, the invincible narrowness of view, the combination of sordid morals and high profession, the degradation of religion at the hands of politics, the conceit of power and place—these, and not the finer qualities of personal and social life, loom largest in the New England of the seventeenth century. The colony which illustrated these qualities most perfectly, and which because of its material superiority imposed its will upon its neighbors and set the tone of New England life, was Massachusetts. That Massachusetts occupies the largest place in Mr. Adams's pages is no result of over-emphasis or distorted sense of proportion, for it was in all respects save liberty the leading colony; and it is to Massachusetts historians and publicists, heirs themselves of a social system in which the student of today finds scarcely one lovable feature, that the world owes the persistent idealization of New England beginnings which has pictured New England as it was not. One perceives more clearly after the work which Mr. Adams has done how hard was the road which later generations had to travel, and with what difficulty even the smallest measure of freedom and fair play was to be won.

Doubtless it was inevitable that Mr. Adams's book should suffer somewhat from the defect of its quality. His clear conviction of the shortcomings of the Puritans, joined to the predominant place of Massachusetts in the New England story, leads him to subordinate other parts of the narrative, and at times to praise as if praise were a relief. Roger Williams and his Rhode Island associates, for example, were not in fact more intelligent or socially minded because Massachusetts hated them, and the humanizing development of social policy in Connecticut presents features which might well have been more fully brought out. The Antinomian controversy was of more far-reaching significance than one gathers from Mr. Adams's account of it. The economic expansion of the colonies gets scanty attention in comparison with theological and political issues, and there is comparatively little reference to social habits and customs. We have not, in other words, quite the whole story. Taken as a whole, however, the work is of first-rate importance. No other history of New England of equal compass is now any longer worth reading, and all the larger histories must be corrected by this one. The God-fearing Puritan of tradition has at last been sent the way of Cooper's noble savage, and in his place we see the New England founders as they were.

WILLIAM MACDONALD

When Right Meets Left

A New England Group and Others. By Paul Elmer More. Houghton Mifflin Company.

IT is not surprising to find the conservative Paul Elmer More as discontented as the radical H. G. Wells or Bernard Shaw. Conservatives are if possible more discontented than radicals, and indubitably more dismal. They are discontented with the discontent of the radicals. "The thought of discontent gnawing at the very heart of our civilization," declares Mr. More in an earlier essay of the Shelburne series, "strikes me with a kind of vague terror." But it is surprising when Left and Right agree as to the specific disease of our social order. Take Mr. More's diagnosis: "Scientific evolution without a corresponding moral evolution . . . has not brought greater control of the savage passions of men, but has simply created more efficient instruments for the use of those passions." Now hear Mr. Shaw, in his latest preface, contrasting the "diabolical efficiency of technical education" with the inefficiency and dishonesty of social and moral education, and pointing to the result: "powers of destruction that could hardly without uneasiness be intrusted to infinite wisdom and infinite benevolence are placed in the hands of romantic schoolboy patriots." And recall how Mr. Wells was inspired to the writing of his "Outline of History" by his alarmed perception of the organized abominations to which we have drifted because our scientific education has been better than our historical and social education. This agreement is almost exhilarating, suggesting as it does that we have here an approximation to the truth. But the truth itself is supremely disquieting. Can man master his machines? Which shall triumph—the force of machinery or the force of love, the Dynamo or the Virgin?

So much for diagnosis. When we find Mr. More and Mr. Shaw (whom Mr. More courteously brackets with Gilbert Cannan as possessor of a "smudged and smeared" mind) agreeing on a remedy, the coincidence is still more striking. This remedy is the fear of God. Mr. More wants to get it back into society, Mr. Shaw into our rulers. Of course, it is fairly certain that they do not mean the same thing by the fear of God. But it should be possible to find out what Mr. More at least means, since several of his essays—and these the most scholarly and lucid—deal with the spirit of New England, and the fear of God was in New England, if anywhere. It was in Jonathan Edwards, who preached the "pleasant, bright, and sweet doctrine of damnation" until his parishioners ungratefully dismissed the greatest of our theologians and so ended the "combat between inhuman logic and common sense." Mr. More would not phrase it this way if he desired to reintroduce the fear of God that was in Edwards. A sense of sin, a consciousness of evil, there must be, however. Emerson was unfortunately blind to the reality of evil and had the love rather than the fear of God in his heart. Of the later New Englanders, Charles Eliot Norton professed agnosticism, though he retained the New England conscience, the sense of evil, and the belief in human responsibility. Responsibility to what? asked Henry Adams. Mr. More insists that it was the perfect irresponsibility — certainly not Puritan — of the Virgin at Chartres that gave to the tired skeptic an illusion of having reached a comfortable goal. Adams, representing the New England mind in its last condition, ends in "sentimental nihilism," reliance on unreasoning love.

Still groping for a definition of the fear of God, one turns from the New England group to the other subjects of essays in Mr. More's volume—Samuel Butler, Viscount Morley, Ernest Poole—and is led to translate it into the more concrete forms of fear of socialism, humanitarianism, romanticism, even (heaven safe the mark!) of liberalism. Why fear humanitarianism, for instance? Because it has reared a "morality of sympathy and sops," because, as Nietzsche pointed out, it is "merely an intellectual disguise for the social instinct of fear." To a humanitarian like old Michael Wigglesworth, who assigned to unbaptized infants "the easiest room in hell," Mr. More can be kindly and tolerant, but not to the modern type, like Ernest Poole, who desires for the stokers an easier room in the hell of industry. His harshness to the humanitarian, however, is more pardonable than his unfairness to the "sentimental liberal," John Morley. One instance of this unfairness must suffice. Lord Morley, in explanation of his attitude toward Rousseau, quotes George Eliot, who wrote: "It would signify nothing to me if [sic] a very wise person were to stun me with proof that Rousseau's views of life, religion, and government are miserably erroneous. . . . I might admit all this, and it would be not the less true that Rousseau's genius has sent that electric thrill through my intellectual and moral frame which has awakened me to new perceptions." George Eliot does not assert that these views are wrong, nor that her awakened perceptions led her to these views. But with perhaps "unconscious duplicity" (Mr. More applies the phrase to Morley), Mr. More in the next paragraph omits the important "if" and states flatly that Morley avowed his "adherence to a philosopher . . . whose 'views of life, religion, and government are miserably erroneous.'" Here is a subtle distinction that Mr. More would carefully make for Jonathan Edwards, but refuses to make for John Morley.

The fear of God is still without satisfactory definition. As

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for the love that casts out fear, that is another story. One recalls the argument in an earlier Shelburne essay which deftly relegates the gospel of Jesus to its proper place. There are the laws of the spirit—faith, hope, love; and the laws of this world—prudence, courage, honor; and one must not apply the laws of the spirit to the activities of this earth, for that is "a desecration and denial of religion and a bewildering and unsettling of the social order." DOROTHY BREWSTER.

Culture and Race

Mein Weg als Deutscher und Jude. Von Jakob Wassermann. Berlin: S. Fischer Verlag.

THE distinguished novelist Wassermann's profoundly personal analysis of the problem of Anti-Semitism which is so acute in Europe today constitutes a document of the first importance. It does so, however, not because it clarifies much but because, despite Wassermann's brooding intensity and enormous powers of analysis, it leaves the question in the haunted, mythical, pain-riven, blood-soaked obscurity of its origin. Long ago Wassermann made his almost polemical distinction between genius and talent, between creative activity and the professional practice of literature, between vision and skill. In his impassioned service of what seems to him the "divine idea" he has lost all contact with those practical considerations by which the intellect does, somehow, save the world. Jews have often in Central Europe been accused of a mere cold intellectuality. Wassermann flees to myth, vision, mysticism. The cold, scientific intellect may not always be an agreeable spectacle. But we are confronted, as Wassermann realizes with all the power of his quivering sensitiveness, by suffering—by a sum of human suffering almost unexampled. What is it that helps? What, if not science and reason, has alleviated, in any measure, the miseries of man?

Wassermann lets the myth-makers dictate the terms of the controversy. His fundamental psychology is that of the Pan-German, Pan-Slav, of the fighting nativist in every land. In "Caspar Hauser" he wrote a very beautiful, a profoundly German book. But certain critics remarked that the brooding intensity of the narrative method, the psychological "boring and digging," was, after all, alien to the German spirit. His comment is: "These critics did not desire the public to realize that a Jew had written a book so peculiarly German." No help lies in that direction. It never seems to have occurred to him to say: "Very well. Then by so far I have enriched the range and content of our national culture as it has been enriched by Fontane and other authors of French Huguenot descent, by the romance training and affinities of Konrad Ferdinand Meyer, by the infusion of Slavic blood so obvious in many parts of Prussia." He is, in a word, so overwhelmingly German in temperament and outlook that he never touches the naively human or broadly universal at any point.

That, indeed, is his tragedy. His inner identification with the national or, rather, the nationalistic spirit, is too complete. A little detachment would ease him of great pain. He is stung to the soul by being considered, at the most healing moments, only a guest at the hearth. And the hearth is his very own. There is, also, a generous and pathetic delusion here. He was as much at home with his great friend Richard Dehmel as it is possible for a man of his kind to be at home on earth at all. He would be as alien at an American Legion round-up as at the beer-table of vulgar Pan-Germans. Jew and Gentile, we are all homeless in the measure of our insight, sensitiveness, vision, detachment from common fallacies, herd impulses, herd passions. To find our true refuge it is necessary to abandon forever that lower and futile search for a tribal oneness which men call home.

Wassermann comes near that truth at moments. With a sorrowful but honorable frankness he explains his sense of alienation from the Eastern Jews and his entire lack of spiritual contact—granting, of course, the practical work and problem—with the Zionistic hope. But he never draws the final inference. Every majority demands conformity and sees in conformity an absolute and necessary good. In some fashion or another, then, every majority seeks to enforce such conformity. Sometimes the method is the inquisition, sometimes the pogrom. The tribe, furthermore, desires a scapegoat and its choice of the minority for that function is obvious. The diaspora created permanent Jewish minorities amid the great tribal aggregations with the necessary results. To insist on one's spiritual identification with the civilization of the majority, as Wassermann does, will not help. It is, from however noble a point of view, playing into the hands of the eternal inquisitor or pogromchik. The problem that he creates must not be discussed but transcended. Religious persecution was, a few centuries ago, as common and as cruel in Europe as racial persecution is in Poland today. It occurs to no Protestant in a Catholic country, to no Catholic in a Protestant one, to seek favor or recognition by identifying himself with the communion of the majority. A similar tolerance of racial differences must be achieved. And the way to achieve it is by a categorical denial of the virtue or necessity of conformity, of oneness, of unanimity. To be human is enough. Varieties of character and experience enrich civilization. States and institutions are barbarous in proportion as they insist on a dead unanimity. The Jew who cooperates with his fellow-men from the point of view of his given nature performs his whole duty. He who, whether he has achieved it or not, pleads his identification with the majority amid which he lives, weakens the cause of all who are different, of all who are oppressed anywhere on earth. LUDWIG LEWISOHN

A Novelist as Psychoanalyst

Psychoanalysis and the Unconscious. By D. H. Lawrence. Thomas Seltzer.

FOR long after D. H. Lawrence published "Sons and Lovers," readers of that poetic novel were discussing whether the author knew the psychoanalysts and had taken from them the hint for his story, or had intuitively hit upon a theme which happened to illustrate almost perfectly one phase of the new psychological theory. On the whole, the latter opinion prevailed, since the book was so little pervaded by intellectual or derivative emotion. Its intimate spontaneity could hardly have been the product of fabrication; it seemed a lyric rather than an invention. No matter which opinion is correct, however, Mr. Lawrence has aroused confidence in the sureness of his introspection. Less than almost any other writer need he apologize for an attempt to develop psychological theory without resort to anything approaching scientific method.

Now Mr. Lawrence has had another hunch. This time it appears in an essay which expounds his theory not as a hypothesis based on observation, but as revealed truth. Careful scientists are rightfully wary of such pronouncements, and sometimes contemptuous of them. Scientists are still doubtful of the conclusions of Freud himself, although the Freudian theories have found innumerable echoes in personal experience, and psychotherapy based upon them has apparently been successful in thousands of cases. Mr. Lawrence frankly does not speak as a scientist, and the scientist could have little to say about his new theory except that it is an interesting guess which apparently lacks substantiation in anything but its author's inner certainty. That may be the excuse for a review of the book by a layman—it being understood that the whole discussion is in the speculative realm.

Mr. Lawrence's first observation is a keen one. The unconscious pictured by Freud is nothing but a cave full of horrors, a ragbag into which we have stuffed all the unpleasant and censored bits of our conscious life. Bring this refuse out into the light, says Freud, stop suppressing it, look at it and recog-

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nize it, and it will stop bothering you. Unfortunately, however, that result is frequently not attained. If you turn your unconcious inside out, you simply know that you have complexes which before you did not know you had. The complexes do not necessarily disappear. The compulsions which arise from them may be as powerful as ever. What then? The unfortunate subject of analysis is faced with a dilemma: either to suppress his illicit impulses once more, or to adopt the utterly impracticable course of acting on them. Apparently Mr. Lawrence does not have much confidence in the possibilities of sublimation.

The remedy, he believes, lies in finding the real origin of the complex. Is it in the unconscious itself? No, the forbidden image or impulse must have been conscious before it was suppressed. It must have arisen in a false and mistaken process of consciousness; it became fixed in the intellectual realm of ideas. The trouble is here, that the conscious part of the mind has not acted in harmony with the life-giving impulses of what Mr. Lawrence calls the true unconscious, the soul of man. The unconscious, as he sees it, is not simply a vacant receptacle waiting for the discarded products of the conscious; it is also the source of the personality. Examine the nature of the true unconscious, help the conscious mind and the will to act in harmony with it, and you will avoid the creation of the troublesome complex.

Here begins Mr. Lawrence's own invention. The essence of the personality, he maintains, is not a mathematical product of traits from the father and mother, but the first cell out of which the individual develops. "The individual unit of consciousness and being which arises at the conception of every higher organism arises by pure creation, by a process not susceptible to understanding, a process which takes place outside the field of mental comprehension, where mentality, which is definitely limited, cannot and does not exist." By such language he escapes analysis. Either you believe or you don't, and there is an end of it. Accepting this statement on faith, we go on to the assertion that the first center of the new individual is in the solar plexus. "How do we know? We feel it, as we feel hunger or love or hate." And there is not only a positive center, one which builds and draws sustenance and is connected with the mother and with the world. There is also a negative one, which repulses and draws away and creates the individuality of the individual. The first center is sympathetic, the second is voluntary. In this duality, this complementary contradiction, Mr. Lawrence finds the first hint of the nature of the personality. It sets up a polarity, a dynamic consciousness, which implies the interdependence of attraction and repulsion. "Here," he says, "is a new moral aspect to life."

But the matter is not so simple as this. In the thorax are higher, objective centers, to complement the subjective centers below the diaphragm. These also are dual, positive and negative, sympathetic and voluntary. They have to do with less primitive emotions and functions than the lower centers. Among them all, and between these four and the corresponding four in some other person, flow currents which set up an intricate polarity. Naturally, this makes necessary a new conception of love. If we accept Mr. Lawrence's definition, love is "a difficult, complex maintenance of individual integrity throughout the incalculable process of interhuman-polarity." That sounds a bit awe-inspiring, yet it leads up to his message to the world. "Even on the first great plane of consciousness, four primal poles in each individual, four powerful circuits possible between each two individuals, and each of the four circuits to be established to perfection and yet maintained in pure equilibrium with all the others. Who can do it? Nobody. Yet we have all got to do it, or else suffer ascetic tortures of starvation and privation or of distortion and overstrain and slow collapse into corruption. The whole of life is one long, blind effort at an established polarity with the outer universe, human and non-human; and the whole of modern life is a shrieking failure. It is our own fault." In this tragedy the villain is the misinformed conscious will, which makes rigid categories out of idealisms which do not reckon with the true nature of the personality. "What tyranny is so hideous as that of an automatically ideal humanity?"

Some time a professor of physio-psychological electro-calculus may unravel this mystery and state it in exact and useful laws. In the meantime, who shall say that Mr. Lawrence's hunch is not a good one? Beneath its terrifying exterior it seems to correspond, in a vague way, with much of what we are feeling nowadays. If he had only used, to express it, the imagery of fiction or poetry instead of the intellectual terms which he distrusts, he might have written a great novel.

GEORGE SOULE

Books in Brief

IN a remarkably illuminating essay Professor Trent nearly a quarter of a century ago pointed out that Jefferson is to Washington what Shelley—to employ a literary analogy—is to Sophocles; and a generation, like ours, which in the main naturally sympathizes with Shelley, can hardly afford to know so little of Jefferson as is now commonly known. At the acrid hands of certain of his later critics he has not had justice done him—particularly as concerns the amazing range of his curiosity, the acuteness of his guesses where his somewhat hasty knowledge did not carry him, and the genuine shrewdness of many of his schemes for attracting civilization to the unfinished republic in which he lived. He was a prophet with a cunning touch, and he touched our culture at a hundred points. The most tangible sign of his influence is the institution which was the bantling of his later years and which now celebrates its hundredth anniversary with the publication of a five-volume "History of the University of Virginia" (Macmillan) by Philip Alexander Bruce. "The lengthened shadow of one man" Mr. Bruce calls his University, and his chronicle bears out the epithet, though of course Virginia has long outlived the revolutionary disposition of its father. The work, however, does not content itself with a study of Jefferson's influence. Using great masses of material, marshaling them with practiced skill, and vivifying his narrative with an abundance of incident, the author traces the history of life at the University from the beginning (the fifth volume has not yet appeared) to the present day. The result is the most interesting history of an American university yet written; it is also a document of profound interest to all students of American education and of American society at large.

THAT relentless investigator Gustavus Myers has turned his attention to "Ye Olden Blue Laws" (Century) in an attempt to draw certain damaging parallels between the current spasm of sumptuary legislation and the similar spasms which in colonial times pestered persons of liberal instincts. Mr. Myers has obviously less learning than most of his readers will guess from his book; he seems here to have invaded this province for the first time and to have learned, also for the first time, much that scholars have long known—or have had to unlearn as not particularly typical. He trains his guns, moreover, rather too heavily upon the "ministerial oligarchy" which he believes to be as responsible for trying to take away our cakes and ale as were the militant divines of the seventeenth century and their desperate successors of the eighteenth. But the general drift of his contention is right enough: that those acidulous creatures who did what they could to take the joy out of the lives of our ancestors were a thoroughly unpleasant and a largely pernicious crew and that to inherit their cantankerous zeal now is to inherit a good many other of their qualities. One may take what consolation one can from the cheerful fact that they generally failed in the long run, no matter how great a nuisance they were for a time.

THE little devices of the Little Americans for "Americanizing" our immigrants seem for the most part very trivial in the presence of such a study as that accomplished by William

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I. Thomas and Florian Znaniecki in "The Polish Peasant in Europe and America" (Badger), of which the fifth and final volume has recently been published. The work is indeed encumbered with the jargon in which too many sociologists swaddle their offspring; but the evidence here assembled is unavoidable and arresting. What happens when Europeans leave their compact social groups in the Old World and straggle out over the scattered communities of the New? Some of the evidence is here, in these accounts, based upon first-hand examination, of the disintegration of family ties, of the dissipation of wholesome—if often constricting—folkways, of the shattering of normal morale. Our national tendency—and, in the main, our national experience—leads us to believe that in time the change may prove salutary for all concerned, but only fools can be fully confident at present. And such fools as well as wiser men should all be counseled to read the remarkable Life-Record of an Immigrant which fills the third volume.

"KRILOFF'S FABLES, Translated from the Russian into English in the Original Metres," by C. Fillingham Coxwell (Dutton), contains more than a third of the work of the inimitable fabulist who was a hundred times more interesting and bright than John Gay and who was all but the equal of La Fontaine himself. If Kriloff's humor shines through Mr. Coxwell's lines somewhat diminished in snap and cunning, and if the metrical felicity for which he is famous has generally to be assumed rather than felt, Mr. Coxwell can hardly be blamed, for his task was staggering. If any verse is beyond translation, it is that of a genuine writer of fables, caressed and compressed as it must have been through many affectionate years. Mr. Coxwell has prefixed an entertaining life of this indolent and most picturesque poet.

SINCE 1916 certain critics of poetry in London have been provoking curiosity outside of their immediate circles concerning a very small book of seventeen poems which they intimated in various ways was the finest product of its decade, if not of its century. The book was Charlotte Mew's "The Farmer's Bride," which at last has reached this country, with several poems added, under the title "Saturday Market" (Macmillan). The twenty-eight pieces, with a few exceptions, are dramatic monologues of a highly nervous nature, passionate to the bone and intensified to the quick. No more condensed writing, probably, has ever been done, but there has been more powerful. Interesting as the volume is, its reader eventually becomes aware that he confronts a poetess who is twitching with tantrums of the imagination and calling on him to admire. The Changeling, The Farmer's Bride, Ken, The Quiet House, On the Road to the Sea, and Saturday Market are as keen as the blades of daggers, but also as narrow. The breath and strength of Thomas Hardy, who writes on the whole a similar sort of monologue, are notably absent.

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International Relations Section

The Port of Reval

A VIVID picture of the Port of Reval since the lifting of the embargo on trade with Russia is presented in the following sketch by Arthur Ransome, who writes from the vantage point of the cabin roof of his small boat lying in the harbor. It is taken from the *Manchester Guardian* of June 27.

Sitting on the green-painted cabin roof of the diminutive Kittiwake, I seem to have found one of the few vantage points in Europe where it is possible for an observer to be hopeful. My little boat is anchored just inside the entrance of the harbor, and the whole Port of Reval, one time "Port of Peter the Great," as it is still called on English Admiralty charts, lies open before me. The Kittiwake plunges and rolls at the waves of the hurrying tugs, and has, under her tossing bowsprit, under her very nose, as it were, all the traffic of the port. And there really is traffic. After seven years—or is it eight?—this old trade route is reopening, and though we ourselves are making, so far, very little use of it, the liveliness of the traffic even of foreign ships is encouraging for the European, no matter of what nation, who has been made to realize, however dimly, the dangers which European civilization has not yet escaped.

There before me is the tall elevator, a modern building oddly recalling the old houses of the Hansa merchants (some of which are still to be seen in the town), with their lofty storerooms and overhanging cranes, rising narrow and gray among the slim masts of the sailing ships, whose tops almost reach its upper stories. Along the Victoria Quay, in the Commercial Harbor, and in the farther basin lie the steamers of all nations, busy once more with Russian trade. There are the German ships, from Stettin, Lübeck, and Hamburg, as in the old days of the Hansa League. There is the white Heimdall of Stockholm, with her lifted icebreaker bows, for running through the thin ice between Sweden and Finland in the winter time. She has come for yet another parcel of the Russian gold, the bulk of which passes through Stockholm to the western world. There is the Vendyssel, of Copenhagen; there the white-rimmed funnel of the Baltannic out of London, herself lately a Danish ship; there the Malila, a strange little wooden-built steam and sailing vessel which has found her way round from Norway with a cargo of salt fish. Over there beside the farther quay are the large American ships the Portia and Chepota. (The Americans find trade with Russia impossible, but the goods they bring to Reval, so I am told, are in Russian hands within twenty-four hours of arrival.) Besides these are the Esthonian and Finnish steamers Kalevipoeg, Kajak, Ebba Munck, Kodumaa, Endla, scores of sailing vessels in the timber and potato trade, and a regular fleet of little sailing boats with auxiliary motors to whom everybody frankly refers as "the smugglers" and explains that they make a living out of illicit trade across the gulf. In the far corner is the Esthonian navy, gray and proud, with sailors doing some smart signal work from the tops. And behind them all is the town, with its tall spires and citadel rock, with the Scandinavian towers and Gothic houses that tell its ancient history, and over all the anomalous gold domes of the Russian church planted in domination on the summit of the hill, the relic of an unseemly competition in insult, not between Russia and the Esthonians, but between an individual Russian Governor and the German barons, between whom as oppressors the Esthonians found little to choose.

Just now the most interesting ship in Reval is not in the Commercial Harbor among all these busy steamers, but is waiting her turn beside the floating dock on the other side of the *Bollwerk*. She is a dirty, damaged little steamship much in need of paint, and on her stern in Russian characters is written her name, "Subbotnik" ("Saturdaying") and her port of origin, "Archangel," and above her, in the light breeze from the southwest, is flapping a red revolutionary flag with the letters R.S.F.S.R., the official flag of (let me get it right first time) the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic. Soon after she was brought into Reval—about the time the Kronstadt mutiny began—all kinds of stories were current about her. She was said to be loaded with cases marked "typewriters" but really containing rifles. She was said to be a White Guard vessel disguised as a revolutionary. Some said she had come from Kronstadt, others that she was bound thither. In actual fact she is a little steamship of the Russian Republic which came without mishap from Archangel, through the White Sea, the Arctic, the North Sea, and the Baltic, only to be caught in the ice and have a propeller damaged in the Gulf of Finland near Nargon Island, within sight of Reval. She was salved and brought into port by the Esthonians, and when repairs have been completed she will take her part in conveying goods to Petrograd.

That romantic, battered little revolutionary ship sets the note of the Port of Reval in this summer of 1921. There is not another ship in the port flying the red flag, with the exception of a mud dredger, which flies that flag as it is flown by a steam roller, without political significance, but there is hardly a ship in the port whose business is not connected directly or indirectly with the awakening Russian trade. They fly the flags of all nations, but their cargoes of boots and cloth and plows and engines go on from Reval overland to the frontier station where the same flag waves that makes the battered Subbotnik an object of such speculative interest.

Reval, always one of the chief Russian ports, has regained, thanks to the Revolution, the significance she had in the days of the Hansa League, when Petrograd was nothing but a swamp. . . . On the quays as I write thousands upon thousands of plows, harrows, and other agricultural implements are lying. Here is a traveling crane, there the engines and tenders for a narrow-gauge railway, the engines labeled in huge letters "Communist" and "International," flaunting their names, no doubt, as a sort of propaganda. But who cares? The building of the engines gave work in some country trying hard to keep head above water, and in so far helped her to do so. Manufacturers who, in accordance with their contracts, paint the letters "R.S.F.S.R." on plows or flagrant revolutionary names on locomotives do not grind their teeth as the happy revolutionary imagines, but merely reckon with satisfaction that these orders from the revolutionary world are actually helping to stabilize the disastrously shaken fabric of European industry, and in particular to keep their works running and their men employed. Here in Reval the freight charges on transit goods for Russia practically pay for the Esthonian railroad system. Even so, the amount of goods that go into Russia is only a miserable fraction of the country's enormous needs, and it is disheartening that of that miserable fraction so very small a share is British. But no matter. The mere increase of trade here affects all Europe, and in the long run is good for us, even if in the immediate business we have allowed ourselves to be outdone by nearly everybody.

Sitting here on the green-painted cabin roof of the Kittiwake, watching the sunshine on the ships and flags of many nations, I feel I am looking on at the visible recovery of Europe, or at least at a gallant effort toward recovery, made possible by Esthonia's courageous policy of peace. This, obviously, is the right way. Not one of all these ships is bringing shells or guns. All are bringing things to cure at once the hunger of the East and the unemployment of the West. And, going about their work with flags, they have an air of happiness and business and peace that makes each work-day seem a holiday. And now up with the Kittiwake's pocket-handkerchief of a foresail and out of harbor to see what new ship that is, hooting the cheerful tidings of her arrival in the Reval roads.

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Labor in Portuguese Africa

THE Portuguese Government has recently granted the Mozambique Company, a commercial concern, absolute power over 65,000 square miles of territory in East Africa. In a district larger than England and Wales combined, with a population of over 300,000, a group of traders are in a position to compel the natives to work under an authorized system of forced labor. The *Missionary Review of the World* for April says that the company has gone so far as to prohibit foreign missionary work, and quotes one of the leading officials as saying, "We are here as a commercial company to make profits, and we propose to make the natives work out our purpose. We shall use methods that missionaries will call slavery." Nor is such exploitation confined to this one district, large as it is. In Angola, West Africa, the Portuguese are also exploiting the natives by compelling them to submit to forced labor. The actual provisions of a law drafted by a commission of African planters as published in the *Journal de Benguela,* the principal paper of the district, follow. The measure has not yet been enacted, but the commission wields great influence in the district.

1. Every able-bodied male native not less than 14 and not more than 45 years of age, resident within the civil jurisdiction of Bailundo, shall by this act be obliged to give his service to some establishment, agricultural, industrial, or commercial, for a period of not less than 90 working days in each year.

2. Anyone, even though he may have complied with the terms of the preceding article, who shall be found indecorously clothed, offending public morals, or shall be known to be given to vagrancy, without further legal form shall be sent by the administrative authority to some agricultural establishment for a term of not less than 180 days.

3. Any native who shall not comply voluntarily with the obligation of Article 1 shall be compelled to do so by the administrative authority for a term not less than 180 days.

4. To determine whether the native has complied with the obligation to work, every functionary who takes part in the collection of the hut tax shall demand, at the time of paying the same, the certificate given by the patron stating where he may be found.

6. The natives who, having contracted either voluntarily or by compulsion, shall absent themselves from the service of their patrons or have not completed their contracts, shall be captured by the administrative authority or by the patron himself authorized by it and they shall be condemned to correctional labor for a term of not more than six months, to be served at some other plantation, receiving only 50 per cent of their pay, the remainder reverting to the local school fund.

7. Every agriculturist shall have the right to recruit for his own plantation chiefly from the natives who reside in his neighborhood, who shall constitute his private personnel.

10. To every native who has an art or trade the privilege of working in the trade which he professes is permitted.

12. Every farmer is permitted a place of detention wherein either forced laborers or those serving terms of correction shall live outside of work hours.

13. Every patron (employer) shall be obliged to keep and pay the native personnel in his service according to the following conditions:

(1) The daily rations shall not be less than 1.3 kilos of raw food for cooking, especially corn meal and beans. The one not less than 1 kilo and the other in portions of 300 grams independent of the necessary salt. As these staples are the basis of the native food in this region, only in special cases should there be substitution, and when this shall be in money it shall always be at the market price of these staples.

(2) The minimum pay per month for volunteers shall be:

From 14 to 16 years of age	$1.50
From 16 to 18 years of age	2.00
From 18 years on	2.40

For those compelled to work the pay shall be $.20 per month less, except that no patron shall be able to compel his personnel to receive pay other than money.

14. Independently of the preceding article and its subdivisions the patron must give assistance as well as the right of food to his personnel in case of recognized sickness and the pay of those who are victims of labor accidents during the time of the contract.

15. No patron nor laborer shall be condemned without being heard.

(1) Always, whenever a patron complains of a workman, he must substantiate the accusation. In the same way every laborer must prove the accusation which he brings against his employer.

(2) In cases under the preceding paragraph the patron shall be brought face to face with the laborer or vice versa. There being reason for judgment it shall be applied in harmony with this regulation and applied through the administrative authority.

16. The penalties for a patron who shall fail to comply with any of the requirements of this regulation shall always be by fine, never less than $5.00 nor more than $150.00.

(1) Whenever an individual is condemned, if he does not agree to the penalty given he shall have the right to appeal to a board of arbitration composed of two farmers, two traders, and the Administrador (resident magistrate), who shall be its president, this board being elected at the beginning of each year by the farming class.

(2) The penalties for the natives shall likewise be remittable with money and never may be more than the sum of the salary for six months. These penalties shall be applied in case of any unjust complaint made against the patron or in case of damage known and proven.

(3) Any individual who for any reason shall attempt to evade the terms of this regulation, certifying that natives have complied with the obligation to work without having done so, or who say that they have had natives in their employ when in fact they have not, shall be punished with a fine of $50.00 for the first offense and $100.00 for subsequent offenses.

(4) All moneys resulting from these fines shall revert to the local school fund.

17. That there may be recruiting, the local authorities shall ask the farmers to turn over to them any native who may be considered incorrigible from any standpoint so that he may be sent away for military service if he shall be considered fit for it.

[Note. Article 5 deals with the distribution of those serving correctional terms, Article 8 with the privilege of the laborer to choose his employer, Article 11 with the right of the patron to have police to help him, Article 18 forbids subletting of laborers, and Article 19 provides that all points not covered by this regulation shall be subject to the laws already in force.]

Some of the conditions and omissions of this proposed measure deserve careful consideration. Every able-bodied Negro is subject to a term of hard labor if he fails to receive work under the terms of this proposal. He is obliged to work, but no one is obliged to give him work when he asks for it. The result would be that many would agree to work for ninety days without pay for the sake of the card exempting them from punishment. There is no penalty for securing labor by mutual agreement for less than the stated minimum. For some time the *escudo* ($1.00) has been worth about ten cents in American money. That would mean that boys and young men receiving the legal wage would get 15 and 20 cents a month and grown men 24 cents. Every Negro man must pay a yearly tax of $4.00 and there is usually an additional kraal tax of $1.50.

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The End of the Coal Dispute

I. The Terms of Settlement

THE terms of settlement of the British coal dispute, as issued by the Board of Trade and published in the London *Times* for June 29, are printed below. The British press, while accepting the terms cordially, generally pointed to the fact that they might have been agreed upon at any time during the long struggle.

1. A National Board shall be constituted forthwith, consisting in equal numbers of persons chosen by the Mining Association of Great Britain and persons chosen by the Miners' Federation of Great Britain.

There shall also be established District Boards, consisting in equal numbers of persons representing owners and workmen in each district.

The National and District Boards shall draw up their own rules of procedure, which shall include a provision for the appointment of an independent chairman for each Board.

2. The wages payable in each district shall be expressed in the form of a percentage upon the basis rates prevailing in the district, and shall be periodically adjusted in accordance with the proceeds of the industry as ascertained in such district.

3. The amount of the percentage to be paid in each district during any period shall be determined by the proceeds of the industry in that district during a previous period, as ascertained by returns to be made by the owners, checked by joint test audit of the owners' books carried out by independent accountants appointed by each side.

4. The sum to be applied in each district to the payment of wages above the standard wages as hereinafter defined shall be a sum equal to 83 per cent of the surplus of such proceeds remaining after deduction therefrom of the amounts of the following items during the period of ascertainment:

(*a*) The cost of the standard wages;
(*b*) The costs of production other than wages;
(*c*) Standard profits equivalent to 17 per cent of the cost of the standard wages;

and the share of the surplus applicable to wages shall be expressed as a percentage upon the basis rates prevailing in the district.

Provided that if in any period the ascertained proceeds, after deduction of costs other than wages and the cost of the standard wages, prove to have been insufficient to meet the standard profits, the deficiency shall be carried forward as a first charge to be met out of any surplus, ascertained as above, in subsequent periods.

5. If the rates of wages thus determined in any district do not provide a subsistence wage to low-paid day wage workers, such additions in the form of allowances per shift worked shall be made for that period to the daily wages of these workers as, in the opinion of the District Board, or, in the event of failure to agree by the parties, in the opinion of the Independent Chairman, may be necessary for the purpose. Such allowances shall be treated as items of cost in the district ascertainments.

6. For the purpose of these periodical adjustments the units shall be the districts set out in the schedule hereto, and shall only be varied by the decision of the District Board or boards concerned, provided that no variation shall take place prior to February 1, 1922, in the grouping of any district unless it is mutually agreed by the representatives of both sides in the district or districts concerned.

7. The standard wages shall be the district basis rates existing on March 31, 1921, plus the district percentages payable in July, 1914 (or the equivalents in any district in which there has been a subsequent merging into new standards), plus, in the case of pieceworkers, the percentage additions which were made consequent upon the reduction of hours from eight to seven.

8. In no district shall wages be paid at lower rates than standard wages, plus 20 per cent thereof.

9. The National Board shall forthwith consider what items of cost are to be included for the purposes of paragraph 4 (*b*) above, and in the event of agreement not being arrived at by July 31, the matter shall be referred to the Independent Chairman for decision.

10. The wages payable by the owners up to August 31 inclusive shall be based upon the ascertained results of the month of March, and the wages payable during September shall be based upon the ascertained results of the month of July. The periods of ascertainment thereafter shall be decided by the National Board.

11. During the "temporary period" as hereinafter defined, the following special arrangements shall apply in modification of the general scheme set out above:

(*a*) In calculating the proceeds for March the deduction to be made in respect of costs other than wages shall be the average of such costs during January, February, and March.

(*b*) In any district in which reductions in wages continue to be made after the first ascertainment, no part of the surplus proceeds shall be assigned to profits if and in so far as this would have the effect of reducing the wages below the level in the preceding month.

When in any district there is a break in the continuity of reductions in wages upon the periodical ascertainments, at that point and thereafter the general scheme shall apply fully in regard to owners' surplus profits.

(*c*) The proviso to paragraph 4 regarding the carrying forward of deficiencies in standard profits shall not apply, but any net losses shall be so carried forward.

(*d*) The Government will give a grant not exceeding £10,000,000 in subvention of wages.

(*e*) This subvention shall be available for making such increases to the wages otherwise payable in any district as may be necessary to prevent the reductions below the March rates of wages being greater than the following amounts:

During July, 2s. a shift for persons of 16 years of age and upwards and 1s. a shift for persons under 16.

During August, 2s. 6d. and 1s. 3d. respectively.

During September, 3s. and 1s. 6d. respectively, provided that the balance of the subvention is sufficient for this purpose.

(*f*) In any district in which in any month the proceeds available for wages, calculated in accordance with the terms of this settlement, are sufficient to admit of a rate of wages equal to or higher than the rate payable under the maximum reduction for that month, the wages payable by the owners shall be calculated not in terms of basis plus percentage, but on the same basis as during March, less flat-rate reductions uniform throughout the district for persons of 16 years of age and upwards and persons under 16 years of age respectively.

(*g*) In any district in which the wages calculated in accordance with the terms of this settlement are less than the wages payable under the maximum reductions aforesaid, the difference shall be met by the owners in that district during September to the extent of the aggregate net profits realized by them on the district ascertainment for July, and during October to the extent of the aggregate net profits realized by them on the district ascertainments for July and August.

(*h*) The expression "temporary period" means the period from the date of the resumption of work to September 30, 1921.

12. The period of duration of this agreement shall be from the date of resumption of work until September 30, 1922, and thereafter until terminated by three months' notice on either side.

13. It is agreed as a principle that every man shall be entitled to return to his place when that place is available for him and that men temporarily occupying places during the stoppage shall give way to men working in those places before the stoppage.

It is agreed that, on the other hand, there shall be no vic-

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timization of men who have been keeping the collieries open, not in the sense that they are to remain at the jobs they filled during the stoppage, but that they shall not be prevented from going back to their own jobs or from working subsequently at the colliery.

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Scotland; Northumberland; Durham; South Wales and Monmouth; Yorkshire, Nottinghamshire, Derryshire, Leicestershire, Cannock Chase, and Warwickshire; Lancashire, North Staffordshire, and Cheshire; North Wales; South Staffordshire and Salop; Cumberland; Bristol; Forest of Dean; Somerset; Kent.

II. THE REFERENDUM

In the following letter the Executive of the Miners' Federation submitted the terms of settlement to the members and asked for a resumption of work, after which the men voted by a large majority to return to the mines and Parliament adopted the Government's measure for a £10,000,000 subsidy.

Your Executive Committee have today provisionally agreed to terms of a wages settlement with the Government and the owners. These terms will be brought to your notice at once, with the object of getting them ratified, so that a general resumption of work may take place on Monday next.

The important and responsible step of taking power as a committee to negotiate a wages settlement, even after the last ballot vote, was the result of our certain knowledge that the National Wages Board with the national profits pool could not be secured by a continuation of this struggle. Every economic and political factor is dead against us. In order that no more suffering should be endured by a continuation of this struggle, we took upon ourselves the freedom to negotiate a wages settlement.

This wages settlement which is now before you represents the maximum which can be secured in the present circumstances. It is an improvement upon the wage terms which were submitted by the owners and upon which you voted in the last ballot. The Government grant has been restored; the maximum wage reductions in districts where reductions must take place are now known up to October 1. A minimum of 20 per cent will be added to the new standard wage which will operate during the lifetime of the agreement and not end on June 30, 1922, as originally proposed by the owners. This principle is of the greatest possible value in the mining industry.

The remaining principles which are to govern wages and profits during the lifetime of the agreement have also been established. These mark an entirely new departure in the mining industry, and it is our sure belief that when anything like normal trade returns these principles will provide a more just method of fixing wages and profits than we have ever had before in the industry.

Up to now the unity of the men has been magnificent. Whole districts which had nothing to gain in the form of wages have stood loyally by the other districts whose wage reductions would have been of the most drastic character. This loyalty and unity will have been maintained to the end of the dispute, despite the great odds against us, if a general resumption of work takes place on Monday next.

We therefore strongly urge you, with the knowledge of the seriousness of the situation, to accept this agreement which we have provisionally agreed to today, and authorize your committee to sign the terms by Friday next.

HERBERT SMITH, *Acting-President*
JAMES ROBSON, *Treasurer*
FRANK HODGES, *Secretary*

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